THE
ASSINIBOINE
BASIN

A map of the basins of the Stone Indian and the Red River made from the Couts Copy of David Thompson's "Map of the North West Territory of the Province of Canada." Thompson's map was based on data collected in the area in 1797 and 1798

Copied by M. Kavanagh

Originally printed by Harper, Co. 1895
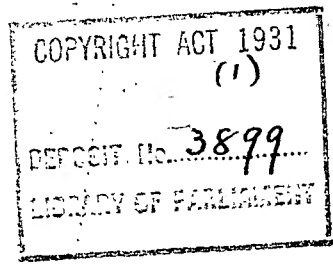
THE
ASSINIBOINE BASIN

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

A Social Study

of the

DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION AND
SETTLEMENT OF MANITOBA

By

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PIONEER EDITION

To

K. and M. and K.

"Heap the logs of wisdom higher,
Yet the higher leaps the fire,
There remains a greater arc
Of impenetrable dark."

PREFACE

THERE HAS BEEN a growing desire in recent years on the part of Canadians to increase their knowledge, not only of Canada—their unknown country—but also of their own immediate neighbourhood. This desire is evidenced by the rise of what is called "social studies" which is a combination of geography, history, civics and economics.

The physical features of a country have and have had great influence on its inhabitants. They moulded the aborigines, they tested the explorers, they sustained the original settlers and the later denizens. This book "The Assiniboine Basin" is a social study. It continually keeps in mind that physical geography has influenced the history and economic development of the Assiniboine basin. The early portions of the treatise deal with the western prairies into which the explorers first came. It seeks to give the foundations of the history of this river region.

The fur traders followed the explorers hence there is a study of the rise of these traders. Here geography merges into history, but it is history which should be interesting because it is history combined with geographical exploration.

The fur trader period had not quite closed before empire economic factors had begun to interfere in "Assiniboine Basin" life. Lord Selkirk sought new lands for his people. The years from 1812-1870 were a period of intensive exploration and examination. Economics was the basic factor. The land was found to be fruitful. Exploitation and settlement followed.

It would be a stupendous task to give a detailed history of the rise of each community in the Assiniboine basin. Each community from Last Mountain Lake at the head waters of the Qu'Appelle River to the "Forks of the Red" has its own history—mostly unwritten. This writer has decided that his endeavours in historical research would be best concentrated on one community—one which would best supply data for a social study.

Every book written in recent years in Manitoba has had Winnipeg as its central theme. The subject, from that view-point, must be well nigh exhausted. From the civic point of view too, the wood nearly conceals the trees. The result has been that this author has selected a typical Assiniboine basin city, viz., Brandon, to illustrate civic development on the prairies. While the latter portions of the work

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deal almost exclusively with Brandon, it is to be hoped that the treatise as a whole will serve not only as a social study of Brandon but also as a history of the Assiniboine basin.

In the illustration of the work it was necessary to make many maps and charts. They are based on Manitoba municipal maps, and on maps belonging to the Department of Interior, Ottawa, and the works quoted. The lettering on the maps is the work of a member of the staff of St. Michael's Academy, Brandon. Its excellence needs no comment.

I desire to record my thanks to the Royal Canadian Air Force for the aerial map of Brandon city, the aerial pictures of the forts— La Souris, XY, Assiniboine and Brandon Houses Nos. 1 and 2. I wish to thank the other "cut" proprietors for permission to use their illustrations. They are acknowledged, in each case, underneath the pictures.

Many deserve thanks, and gladly I accord it—Miss Elizabeth Dafoe and the staff of the library of Manitoba University; Miss Myrtle Lewis, librarian of the Manitoba Department of Education; Mr. Selby Henderson, of Henderson's Directories; Mr. C. P. Wilson, editor of "The Beaver"; the staff of the Brandon Land Titles Office, and Mr. James Maguire; W/C J. M. Godfrey, No. 12 S.F.T.S., R.C.A.F., Brandon; Mr. C. K. Rogers, Dr. R. O. MacFarlane, Ph.D., of the Manitoba Department of Education; Mr. P. O'Sullivan, Mr. N. L. Leach, Major H. G. L. Strange, Dr. Andrew Moore, Miss E. Boyce, and many others who helped in numerous ways.

I would like to record my great appreciation of the pioneer work done by Dr. David A. Stewart, B.A., M.D., LL.D., one time president of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, in his Trading Post researches. His was indeed a work of great merit.

Very special thanks are due to Reverend O. J. McInerney, Mr. P. Burke-Gaffney, Professor Hugill and Mrs. R. F. (Margaret) McWilliams for their help and advice.

After a good deal of consideration I have decided not to burden the work with too many references. A fairly full bibliography has been attached.

<div align="right">MARTIN KAVANAGH.</div>

Brandon, Manitoba, August 15, 1946.

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"THE ASSINIBOINE BASIN"

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

Page x —Line 21—Should read "Mr. Dennis E. Maguire."
Page 3, Line 15—Omit "corn and."
Page 11, Line 32—Read "Its site was at Portage la Prairie ..."
Page 17, Line 9—Read "Range 31."
Page 42, Line 36—Place period after "him."
Page 56, Last line—Omit 1801. Put in period after "Mackenzie."
Page 67, Line 11—Close bracket.
Page 79, Line 31—Comma after "Souris."
Page 81, Footnote—Change to read "See picture facing page 159."
Page 86, Line 35—Gironde (Capital G).
Page 94, Add Footnote—St. Laurent of North Saskatchewan Rebellion was six miles north of Batoche Ferry and half a mile east of S. Sask. River.
Page 98, Line 7—"Received."
Page 100—In heading omit "Nova Scotia Settlement." Line 1—read "in 1871."
Page 105, Line 11—Read "northeast quarter." Line 28—read "page 107" instead of 103.
Page 115, Line 38—to page 116, Line 1—Read N.W. ¼ of 20, N.E. ¼ of 20, S.W. ¼ of 29, N.E. ¼ of 19, S.W. ¼ of 30, and S.E. ¼ of 30.
Page 124, Line 30—Change 11th Feb., 1930, to "22nd Feb., 1910." Line 36—"Read June 29, 1882."
Page 157, Line 4—Read "May 4, 1860."
Page 164, Line 12—(See map facing page 124).
Page 240, Line 3—Read "New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West"—Coues.
Page 245, Line 25—F. H. Young read "1938-1943."
      L. H. McDorman read "1944-1945."
Page 247—Read "G. R. Coldwell" July 10, 1914.
Page 263—Read "Connell."

Page 131, Line 12—Read "101°22' instead of 101°25'." Line 15—Omit "near."
Line 19—Put period after "Hudson Bay" and change to read "The Western[1] boundary remained unchanged."
Add Footnote—[1]. A definition of the Western boundary of Manitoba would be "the centre of the road allowance between the twenty-ninth and thirtieth ranges west of the Principal Meridian until it intersects the Second Meridian and from that point north—the Second Meridian."

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[1]Appendices unless otherwise stated, refer to City of Brandon.

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CHART I

Aerial perspective map of Manitoba showing waterways, power sites, and mining areas.

THE ASSINIBOINE BASIN

CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING

"IN THE BEGINNING was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made."[1] . . . And so it was with our continent, our country, and our Assiniboine basin. When the mountain peaks of the Rockies had arisen from an ageless sea, and the great Ice Age had swept the soils from northern tundras to the southern lowlands, in due course vast Lake Agassiz remained from melting glaciers. As it diminished in aeons of time, Hudson's inland sea and James Bay became separated from the Great Lakes and gradually there was formed a smaller Lake Agassiz, drained by rivers coursing to the Mexican Gulf and to the Arctic Ocean, and again in turn receiving waters in Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, and in the myriad smaller lakes which shine like opalescent diadems in our great north land. The Saskatchewan, the Churchill, the Nelson, the Red, the Qu'Appelle, and the Assiniboine still continue to drain the former floor of this great lake, and thus the site of Brandon is but the bed of an inland sea.

The History of Brandon is the story of the coming of man up these rivers and over these lakes. It is the story of his entrance into a fertile and luxuriant wilderness where wild life had already found a more than satisfying home. From the Superior to the Athabaska, from Rainy Lake to the western Red Lake of Minnesota—man progressed. He followed the Red and the Nelson, but more important to us, he decided to make his habitat in the valleys of the Qu'Appelle, the Minnedosa, the Souris and the Assiniboine. Only in so far as it is necessary to the story will our narrative wander from the immediate confines of these latter rivers.

Before the Ice Age came there was in the Assiniboine area, a great and awe-inspiring treeless valley. Once without

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[1]St. John, Ch. I, 1-3

vegetation, but possibly showing reddish from its iron ores, this great valley is easily viewed at Virden or at Glen Souris. It became more beautiful as increasing vegetation rendered it picturesque. The Brandon city directory for 1883 thus describes it:

"The river Assiniboine winds from side to side of a valley a mile in width. Its banks are embowered in groves of oak, ash, elm, willow, poplar and a rich variety of undergrowth. These again are fringed with meadows of luxuriant grasses. Here and there the presence of ranker vegetation indicates a swampy situation, termed a slough. In by-gone days the trapper and hunter must have regarded this fair valley as a grand scene for their operations. These woods, swamps, river scenes, meadows and prairie slopes were then the haunt of buffalo, bear, elk, wolf, fox, skunk, beaver, badger, otter, rabbit, gopher, and chipmunk, and the resort in their season of wild goose, wild duck, teal, prairie chicken, partridge, bustard, owl, bluejay, woodpecker and chickadee. What a tumult of living nature! The picture has yet other favored proportions; the scene is sheltered from north winds by a range of hills, and on its south side by a more gentle slope, backed in the distance by the beautiful Brandon Hills, while to the east, the valley widens into a beautiful agricultural valley deservedly called the Grand Valley."

This in general describes the basins of the Souris, the Qu'Appelle, the Assiniboine-upper and -lower, and the Little Saskatchewan or Minnedosa river.

THE INDIAN

The first human arrival was the Indian. Possibly six thousand years ago the noble redman had crossed over Bering Sea from Asia. Physical conditions produced varied tribes with different characteristics. The inhabitants of the interior plains were divided into three groups. The Cree wandered over the basins of the Churchill, the Nelson, and Manitoba's greater land lakes, and beyond to the east shore of James Bay. The southern border of the Canadian Shield, if crossed, was outside his territory. The Assiniboines or Stonies lived in the basin of the Assiniboine, Souris and Qu'Appelle rivers. South and west of these were the Big Bellies or Gros Ventres and Mandans occupying the head waters of the Missouri in eastern Montana and northwestern Dakota. They spread even into southeastern Alberta, in the north and west of which were the Sarcee, and Blackfoot.

The Cree territories, being farther north and colder, were the haunt of the greater fur-bearing animals. The country was more wild, more forested and less agricultural. While beaver and muskrat abounded, the more fierce fur bearers were found in considerable numbers.

The Assiniboine area was wild also, but it was in a sense more temperate and the animals were of the more peaceful kind like the beaver, buffalo, and antelope.

The first inhabitants of the Assiniboine basin form an interesting study. Within the scope of this work it is not possible, however, to deal with them other than in the widest manner, referring only to more important aspects.

The prairie tribes were at first only partly nomadic. They gave some attention to agriculture, especially in the cultivation of corn and plants indigenous to the soil. The main supply of food came from the buffalo and deer. Not only did these animals supply food, their sinews and skin supplied thread, clothing and tent covering.

The outlook of the Indian in the domain of religion was pantheistic. Occasions of worship supplied an opportunity for a modicum of prayer and sacrifice combined with a great deal of enjoyment. The idea of sacrifice was not elaborate. A sacred pole was hauled into the tribal circle and on it was hanged offerings to the great Manitou![1]

It is difficult to obtain reliable statistics on the number of Indians on the prairies about 1800-1850. The Report of Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company bases an estimate on the numbers visiting various forts in 1856. The results were—Fort la Corne, 300; Cumberland House, 250; The Pas, 300; Fort Pelly, 800; Fort Ellice, 500; Qu'Appelle Lakes, 250; Shell River, 150; Touchwood Hills, 300; Egg Lake, 200; Manitoba House, 200. In 1842 it was estimated that the Assiniboines numbered 3,020, and the Crees and Edmontons, 6,000. A Blue Book, in 1856, gave the number of Indians around Edmonton as 7,500; Carlton, 5,000; Fort Pitt, 7,000; Rocky Mountain House, 6,000. The total population for Rupert's Land is given at 42,870.[2]

[1]Eileen Jenness, THE INDIAN TRIBES OF CANADA, p. 4. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933.
[2]Henry Youle Hind—Report—pp. 114, 115.

An account, taken from Mackenzie's "Voyages," of the religious ceremonies of the Knisteneaux Indians, some of whom lived in the area round "Lake Winipic," is interesting. (The italics are ours.)

"The scene of private sacrifice is the lodge of the person who performs it, which is prepared for that purpose, by removing everything out of it and spreading green branches in every part. The fire and ashes are also taken away. A new hearth is made of fresh earth and another fire is lighted. The owner of the dwelling remains alone in it; and he begins the ceremony by spreading a piece of new cloth, on a well-dressed mooseskin neatly painted, on which he opens his medicine bag and exposes its contents, consisting of various articles. *The principal of them is a kind of household god, which is a small carved image about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of birch-bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard.* The next article is his war cap, which is decorated with the feathers and plumes of scarce birds, beavers' and eagles' claws, etc. There is also suspended from it a quill or feather for every enemy whom the owner of it has slain in battle. The remaining contents of the bag are, a piece of Brazil tobacco, several roots and simples, which are in great estimation for their medicinal qualities, and a pipe. These articles being all exposed, and the stem resting upon two forks, as it must not touch the ground, the master of the lodge sends for the person he most esteems, who sits down opposite to him; the pipe is then filled and fixed to the stem. A pair of wooden pincers is provided to put the fire in the pipe and a double-pointed pin, to empty it of the remnant of tobacco which is not consumed. This arrangement being made, the men assemble, and sometimes the women are allowed to be humble spectators, while the most religious awe and solemnity pervades the whole. The Machiniwais, or Assistant, takes up the pipe, lights it, and presents it to the officiating person, who receives it standing and holds it between both his hands. He then turns himself to the east, and draws a few whiffs which he blows to that point. The same ceremony he observes to the other three quarters, with his eyes directed upwards during the whole of it. He holds the stem about the middle between the three first fingers of both hands, and raising them upon a line with his forehead, he swings it three times round from the east, with the sun, when after pointing and balancing it in various directions he reposes it on the forks: he then makes a speech to explain the design of their being called together, which concludes with an acknowledgment of past mercies, and a prayer for the continuance of them, from the Master of Life. He then sits down, and the whole company declare their approbation and thanks by uttering the word Ho! with an emphatic prolongation of the last letter. The Machiniwais then takes up the pipe, and holds it to the mouth of the officiating person, who, after smoking three whiffs out of it, utters a short prayer, and then goes round with it, taking his course from east to west to every person present, who individually says something to him on the occasion; and thus the pipe is generally smoked out; when after turning it three or four times round his head, he drops it downwards, and

replaces it in its original situation. He then returns the company thanks for their attendance, and wishes them, as well as the whole tribe, health and long life.

"It is proper also to remark that at (their ceremonial) feasts a small quantity of meat or drink is sacrificed before they begin to eat by throwing it into the fire or on the earth."[1]

That the Indians were simple children of Nature their months of the Indian Year according to Alexander Mackenzie show:

May—Frog moon.

June—The moon in which the birds begin to lay their eggs.

July—The moon when the birds cast their feathers.

August—The moon when young birds begin to fly.

September—The moon when the moose deer cast their horns.

October—The Rutting moon.

November—Hoar-Frost moon. Ice moon.

December—Whirlwind moon.

January—Extreme cold moon.

February—Big moon—some say Old moon.

March—Eagle moon.

April—Goose moon.[2]

Into this quiet pastoral and limited nomadic life the horse came from Mexico about 1750. It was the Iron Horse which changed England from a pastoral to an industrial country. The horse of flesh and blood changed the North American Indian into a nomad, whose life now became subject to raid and counter raid by Gros Ventre, Stonie and Cree. In this land of the tomahawk, the white man was soon to appear. His course was typical of all colonizations; first came the explorer, next the trader, accompanied generally by a missionary and then the soldier. The Assiniboine basin was no exception. It followed the general rule.

[1]The Trail Makers, Vol. I, Voyages, Mackenzie, pp. CLI. New York: Barnes & Co.
[2]Ibid. CLVII.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPLORERS
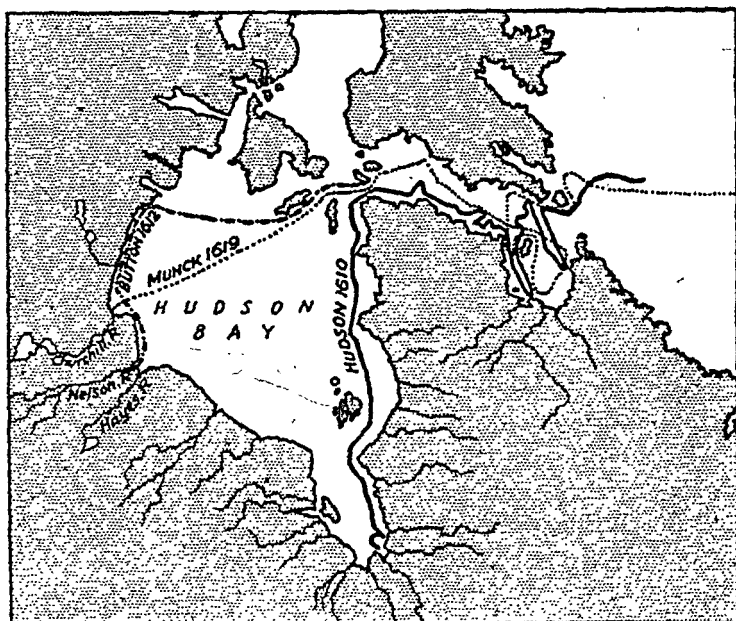
From "Manitoba Milestones," courtesy of Mrs. Margaret McWilliams and Dent & Co.

CHART II

Map shows routes followed by Hudson, Button and Munck.

IN SO FAR as the Assiniboine basin is a key area on the prairies, the exploration of the basin was in a sense the discovery of Brandon. The first of the explorers of this western country was Henry Hudson who sailed to James Bay about 1610. Marooned by a mutinous crew, he or his body was sought by the explorer Button in 1612. The latter, after a fruitless search, wintered at Fort Nelson and returned to England in 1613. Next came a Dane named Munck, seeking (1619) the Northwest passage. His only discovery was Fort Churchill. Following these, Luke Fox, of Hull, and Thomas James, of Bristol, both sea captains, arrived in Manitoba on another fruitless search for the passage. Landlubbers next

tried their hand. Two Frenchmen, who had previously in 1658 and 1659 advanced to the Mississippi and then returned to Quebec with 200,000 francs worth of pelts, made up their
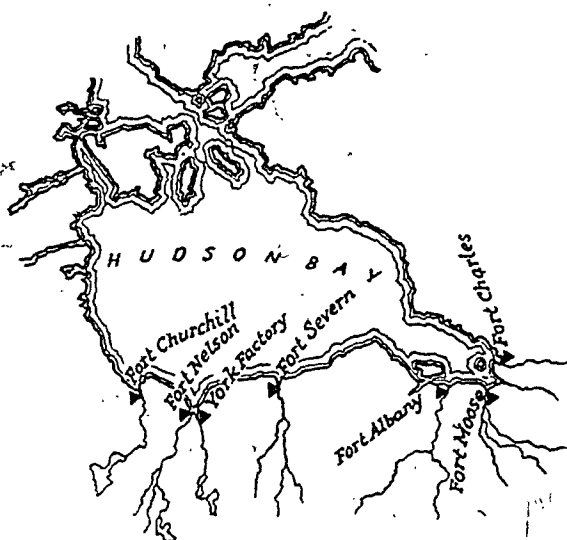
From "Manitoba Milestones," courtesy of Mrs. Margaret McWilliams and Dent & Co.

CHART III

Map shows some of the early forts of the
Hudson's Bay Company.

minds in 1661 to seek Hudson Bay. Radisson and Groseilliers, without the authority of the Quebec governor, Baron D'Avangour, advanced to Duluth and built a fort west of there. This was the first fort of the Northwest. Continuing on their way, some say they reached Lake Winnipeg, though some say James Bay. Returning to Quebec, Radisson and his comrade incurred the wrath of an angry governor, and in consequence sailed to England via France. In 1668 Groseilliers, aided by Charles II, reached James Bay. His brother-in-law, Radisson, had embarked for New France but owing to rough seas returned to England. In his absence Groseilliers and his comrades founded "Charles Fort" on Prince Rupert's River.[1] On the return of Groseilliers in April, 1669,

[1]Later its name was changed to Rupert's House. Today large tracts round Rupert's House form the largest commercial beaver preserve in the world. (Vide Douglas MacKay, THE HONOURABLE COMPANY, p. 25. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Limited, 1938).

after a very successful season, the Hudson's Bay Company was founded May 2, 1670. Thus the Assiniboine basin came a step closer to civilization. Trading posts were now built at Albany River, Hayes Island, Fort Nelson—later York Factory, and New Severn. All these forts were constructed between 1670 and 1685.

Whilst the Frenchmen, Radisson and Groseilliers, were helping the English to found an empire, a young man of an adventurous spirit, Henry Kelsey, in 1683, arrived in Canada. On June 12, 1690, he set out on a long expedition with the Stone or Assiniboine Indians. We do not know exactly where Kelsey went but it is not unlikely that he travelled in the northern reaches of the Assiniboine River. A map from the Hudson's Bay Company archives helps to clarify one's idea of these travels. They brought our locale much nearer the ken of the historian. From the modern Swan River, to Shell Mouth, to Virden, to Brandon is not a great distance for our conveyances. If Kelsey did not visit their sites, it is not unlikely that his Indian comrades described their surroundings.

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye

It seems a far cry from the Assiniboine basin to the War of the Spanish Succession, but in the early 18th century European affairs seemed to impinge more than usual upon Canadian life. Louis XIV of France wished to inherit the Kingdom of Spain. England objected. The result was the War of the Spanish Succession, extending from 1702-1713. A Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough, was then the chief English leader. Among the officers fighting on the French side was a young man from Quebec. He had just crossed the sea in search of adventure. La Vérendrye, born at Three Rivers, November 17, 1685, was wounded at Malplaquet in 1709. The war ended in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. Britain acquired Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the French Settlements round Hudson Bay. La Vérendrye returned to his native land and became a "Coureur de Bois" —a runner of the woods. He determined to seek adventure in the exploration of the Northwest and in the search for the

SKETCH MAP
TRACK OF HENRY KELSEY
1691
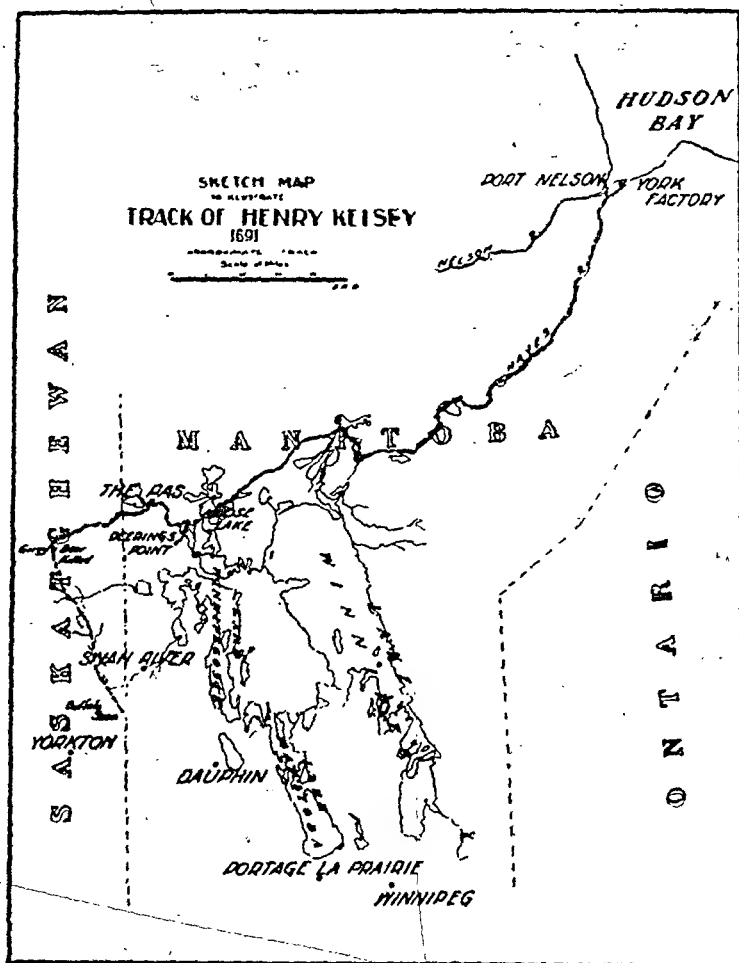
CHART IV

No one knows exactly the route followed by Henry Kelsey in 1691.
He followed the Hayes River south and west to Deering's Point and
thence to the prairies where he saw a buffalo hunt—probably the first
seen by a white man. His journey of about 1,200 miles brought him
well into the Assiniboine basin.

Western Sea.[1] Setting out from Montreal, he reached Rainy
River in 1731. In 1732 he built Fort St. Charles near the

[1] La Vérendrye, in his journal, says he was travelling west to carry the name and arms
of His Majesty, King Louis XV, into unknown countries, to enlarge the colonies, and
to increase their commerce. A. S. Morton says he had also a healthy hatred of the
English, and was determined to ruin their fur trade. The Jesuits also, full of mission-
ary zeal, encouraged the exploration of the West.

northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods. In 1734 he reached Lake Winnipeg and built Fort Maurepas at the mouth of the Red River. It was later moved to the mouth of the Winnipeg River. On the completion of this fort, La Vérendrye returned to Quebec to report progress. In 1735 we find him at Fort St. Charles with his four sons and his nephew, La Jemeraye—all busily engaged on their projects. The year 1736 was disastrous—La Jemeraye died near Letellier, and La Vérendrye's eldest son, Jean Baptiste, with the missionary Father Aulneau and their party, were murdered by the Sioux on Massacre Island in the Lake of the Woods. On September 22, 1738, La Vérendrye left Fort Maurepas, and having crossed Lake Winnipeg's southeast corner went up the Red River to its junction with the Assiniboine, where he arrived September 24, 1738. Six days were spent in going from the present site of Winnipeg to a place twenty-one miles east of the modern Portage la Prairie. There, from October 3 to October 15, 1738, the Frenchmen were engaged in building Fort la Reine which was the first fort on the Assiniboine River. The post, which was on the north bank of the river, was a temporary fort and was likely moved to Portage la Prairie in 1739. (In 1794 both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had posts in the district which was a convenient portage to Lake Manitoba and the North.) Just before the work was completed in 1738, M. De Lamarque informed La Vérendrye that whilst the latter was erecting Fort la Reine, he (Lamarque) had erected Fort Rouge near the "forks" of the Red and Assiniboine.

The urge to find the Western Sea seemed to drive La Vérendrye forward. It was decided to visit the Mandans of North Dakota. The band, which set out October 18, 1738, from Fort la Reine, consisted of fifty-two persons, comprising twenty good hired men, M. De Lamarque and his brother, the two sons of La Vérendrye, a servant, a slave, and the remainder—savages. This was the first major white party to pass through the Assiniboine basin. It arrived among the Mandans December 3, 1738, after a journey of forty-three days. After a stay of ten days, the party left for Fort la Reine

on December 13, 1738. Owing to the illness of La Vérendrye it did not reach that post till February 10, 1739.

About May 20, 1739, La Vérendrye made an intriguing entry in his journal: *"I discovered a few days ago a river flowing west."*[1] As the great French explorer was then living at Fort la Reine there seems little doubt that he had been travelling in the lower reaches of the Souris River, and had come across one of the branches of the Assiniboine (possibly La Vérendrye Creek) which there flows west. It needs no stretching of the imagination then to imagine this great man at sometime or other passing near Brandon. He marks the Minnedosa River as "Rivière St. Pierre," and the Assiniboine as "Rivière St. Charles."

Fort Dauphin

Under the date, May 12, 1742, La Vérendrye mentions the establishment of Fort Dauphin, which was founded in the autumn of 1741 at the west side of the mouth of Mossey River. J. B. Tyrrell considered that its site was in the present town of Winnipegosis. The founder of this fort was La Vérendrye's son, Chevalier. The latter also founded about the same time, Fort Bourbon at the mouth of the Pasquia (Saskatchewan River). Later this Fort Bourbon was removed to the west side of Cedar Lake. The first position was near The Pas.

The conclusion of the explorations was not as happy as one would expect. In debt and without favour at court La Vérendrye died December 6, 1749. His sons were not selected to explore the West. A courtier named St. Pierre received the appointment. Not possessing the personality which straightened the ways for a pale-face among the Assiniboines, St. Pierre was forced to evacuate Fort de la Reine and it was burned by the Indians in 1753. Its site is about twenty-one miles east of Portage la Prairie, and on the south bank of the Assiniboine.

A trace of the influence of La Vérendrye's party remained in the Assiniboine Valley as late as 1805. Harmon's journal contains this entry:

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[1] Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, de la Vérendrye and his sons. Edited with introduction and notes by Laurence J. Burpee. p. 360. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1926.

"It is now more than fifty years since a French missionary left this place (Souris mouth district). He had, as I am informed, resided here during a number of years for the purpose of instructing the natives in the Christian religion. He taught them some short prayers in the French language, the whole of which some of them have not yet forgotten."[1]

Courtesy of Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.

CHART V

Map of the discoveries of La Vérendrye.
(See explanation below)

Translation of notes on La Vérendrye map

Chart of West (Assiniboine River)

Echelle de 500 lieus de 20 au degre—scale of 500 leagues or 20 to the degree.
Pais des Sioux—Country of the Sioux.
Marques de Portage—Portages.
I. aux Biches—Island of Hinds (Moose River (?)).
Lac des Cignes—Swan Lake.
des cristinaux des prairies—Crees of the prairies.
Rivière St. Pierre—St. Peter's River—(Minnedosa River).
Rivière St. Charles—St. Charles River (Assiniboine River).
Ri. des Assinibouelles—River of the Assiniboines (Stone Indian River).

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[1] A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the interior of North America by Daniel William Harmon, Courier Press, 1911. (In Trail Makers of Canada) (as quoted by David Stewart Trans. Act No. 5, Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1928).

Hauteurs des Terres—Height of land.
Chemin des guerriers—Route of the warriors.
Rivière de l'Ouest—River of the West.

THE FUR TRADERS—THE PEDLARS

By the victories of Wolfe and the subsequent capitulation
of Montreal to General Amherst in September 1760, Britain
secured dominant power in North America. After the peace
there was an influx of British money and business men into
the Montreal area. Many of these newcomers were interested
in the fur trade. After some initial mistakes, due to ignor-
ance of a new country, the immigrants decided the best way
to gain possession of the fur trade was to engage the French
coureurs de bois and French half-breeds to contact the In-
dians. Among the leaders of these fur traders were Thomas
Curry, James Finley, Benjamin Frobisher, James Frobisher
and Simon McTavish. By 1765 these traders, or their satel-
lites, had penetrated the Northwest as far as Fort de la Reine.
Since they sought out the Indians and their furs the factors
of the Hudson's Bay Company called them contemptuously
"The Pedlars." The American Revolution, in 1776, caused
many Jacobites and other Britishers to come north to Mont-
real. This increased the pressure of the Pedlars on the pre-
serves of the Hudson's Bay Company, and gradually both
parties commenced to build posts or houses near each other
to counteract the influence of their opposition.

Very frequently the traders clashed in their struggles to
obtain furs. The quarrels of the whites had an unsettling
influence on the less stable redmen, and were it not that the
latter had been decimated by smallpox contracted on a raid
on the Mandans, it is not impossible that the fur traders
would have been wiped out. According to Bryce—

"At the end of 1782 there were only twelve traders who had persevered
in their trade on account of discouragements, but the whole trade was, for
two or three seasons, brought to an end by this disease."[1]

Frobisher, of the Pedlars, built in 1774 a trading post on
Sturgeon Lake near The Pas, Manitoba. Samuel Hearne, of
the Hudson's Bay Company, matched it shortly afterwards
with Cumberland House scarcely two miles distant. Its very
name was an insult to the Pedlars who were mostly exiled

[1]George Bryce. A History of Manitoba, p. 49, Toronto: Canada History Co., 1906.
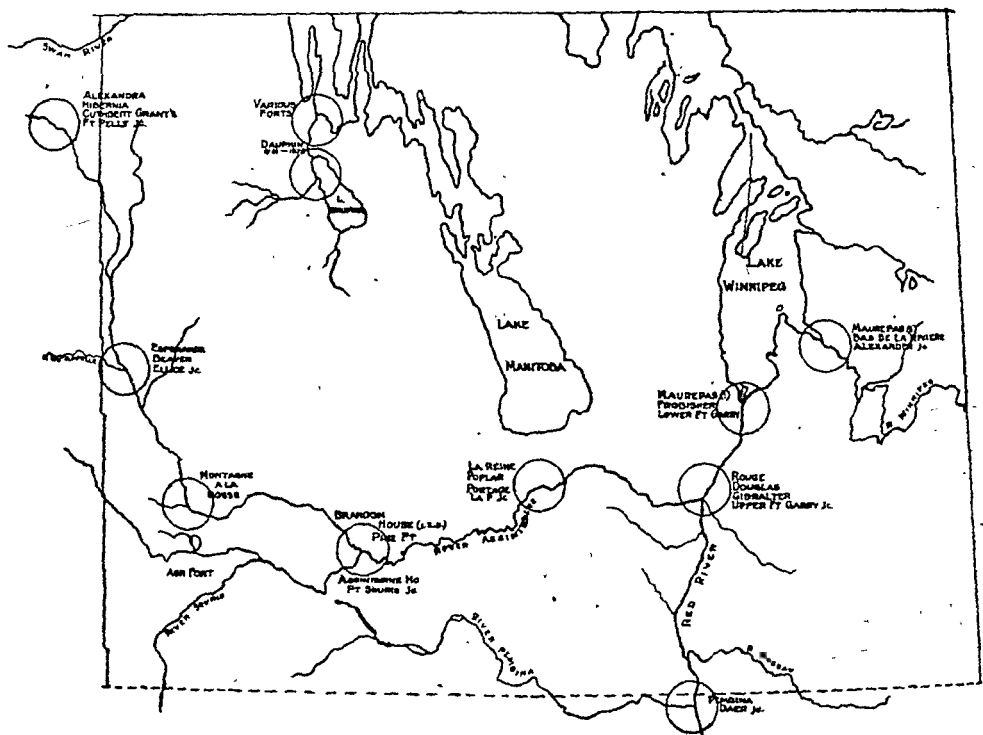
Courtesy of Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society.

CHART VI

Map of Assiniboine Basin showing forts or trading posts in early days. Dr. Stewart states "The first Fort Dauphin was almost certainly in the upper circle" north of Dauphin.

Jacobites, and the memory of the Bloody Duke of Cumberland was yet vivid.

The Pedlars, however, kept on building forts until the fur supply was almost depleted. This caused a union of the greater Pedlars, in 1784, into the combine known as the North West Company. Some "Independents," however, continued to trade on their own. They were opposed with vigour.

North West Company Traders

Arthur S. Morton[1] gives a very fine synopsis of the forts of the Assiniboine. The North West traders, setting out in

[1] Arthur S. Morton, HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN WEST, pp. 432 et seq. Toronto: Nelson.

The above monument was erected in 1938 in La Vérendrye Park, St. Boni-
face, Manitoba, to Sieur de la Vérendrye who first discovered the Assiniboine
basin in 1738. The monument marks the bi-centenary of the discovery. The
Latin inscription reads: "He found these lands and opened them to
humanity and religion."
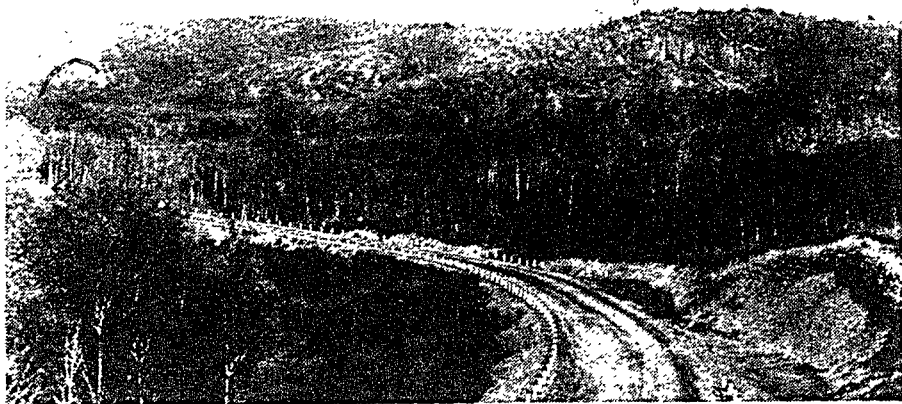
La Vérendrye trail at highway west of Morden, Manitoba.
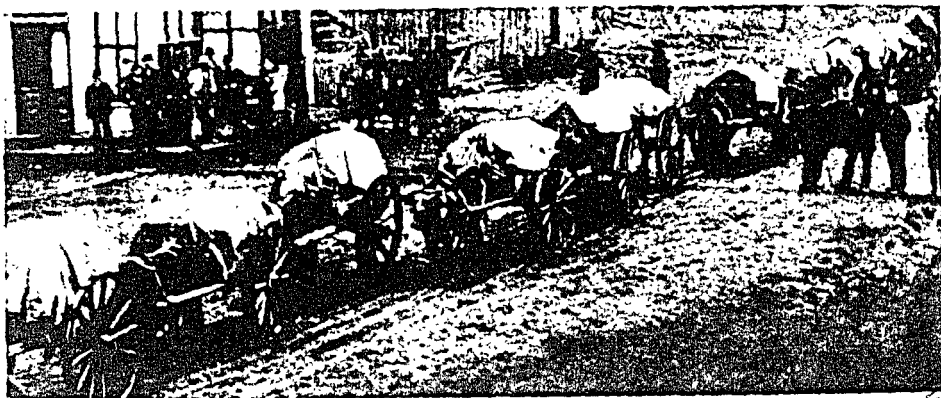
Last Freighter train passing through Portage la Prairie.
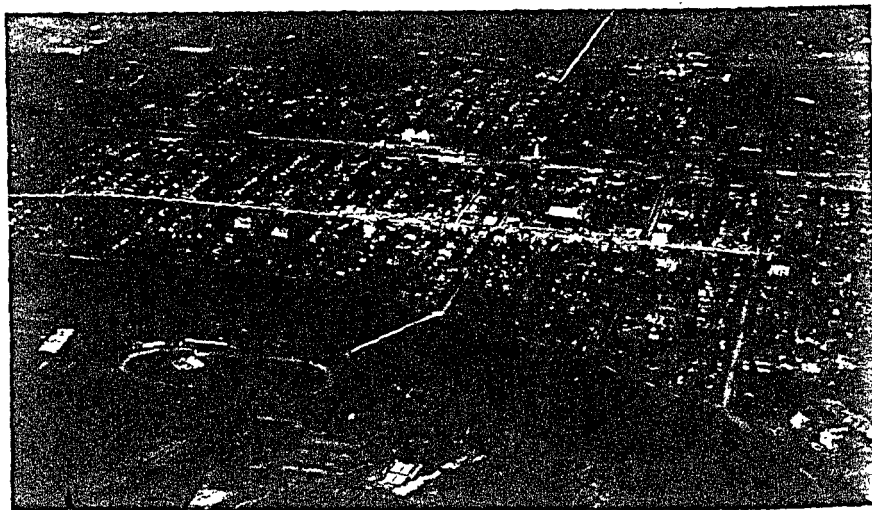
Aerial picture of Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. Fort la Reine of La Vérendrye stood twenty-one miles east of Portage from 1738-1752. Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company had forts here in 1794. Jesuit Missionaries had a mission on Flee Island, 1750.

their canoes from Grand Portage near Fort William, would come by way of the Winnipeg River to Lake Winnipeg, and skirting the southeast corner of the Lake would enter the middle channel of the mouth of the Red. This channel was called Netley Creek or Rivière aux Morts, from the occasion of its being the scene of a slaughter of the Saulteurs by the Sioux.

The swiftly paddled canoes would soon come south to the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine, passing on the way the site of La Vérendrye's Fort Maurepas at the mouth of the Red, and Fort Rouge at the "Forks." As the Assiniboine basin was forested, and as forests meant furs, the canoes would ascend that river and pass Blondeau's Fort, La Vérendrye's Fort la Reine, Adhemar's near High Bluff, then Fort de la Reine on the river at Portage la Prairie. Paddling past the site of the latter city, five miles beyond they would see Fort des Trembles or Poplar Fort, and soon come to Pine Fort.

PINE FORT (N.W.Co.)

Pine Fort is found under various names, viz., Fort des Epinettes, Fort Epinette, Fort des Pins or Pine House. It was built in 1768 by the partners, Oakes, Boyer, Fulton, and Pangman. Its location is generally given as the northeast quarter section 26, township 8, range 14, west of the principal meridian, or one mile northwest of the Glenboro Carberry ferry. This is on the north bank of the Assiniboine about one mile or so west of the confluence of Pine Creek with the Assiniboine. Morton states that there was a fort built in section 6, township 9, range 13, west of the principal meridian. We are inclined to think that the site indicated by Morton is the one mentioned by Donald MacKay in his journal for September 23, 1793. . . . "Passed Mr. Currie's old fort of 1767." Currie's fort was the Middle Fort.[1] Robert Grant once occupied Pine Fort with William McGillivray, nephew of Simon McTavish, the head of the North West Company. In 1890, when J. B. Tyrrell examined the location of Pine Fort, he found it almost washed away by the river. Sufficient, however, remained to trace the stockades,

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[1] A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 289.

bastions, butts of gate posts, cellars, and the remains of a chimney. The accompanying cut gives some indication of its plan.
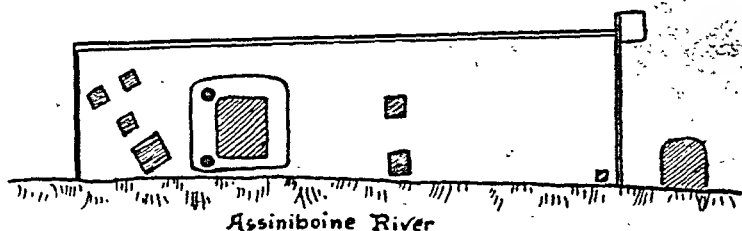
Assiniboine River

ASSINIBOINE RIVER

What the river had left in 1890. Sketch plan of site of Fort Epinette or Pine Fort made by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell.[1]

Pine Fort was very important between 1768 and 1793. Peter Pond, an American, notes in 1790:

"Upon the branches of the Missury live the Maudiens, (Mandans) who bring to our factory at Fort Epinette on the Assiniboine River Indian corn for sale. Our people go to them with loaded horses in twelve days."[2]

There is some doubt as to the subsequent history of Pine Fort. Burpee states that the fort was built in 1785 and abandoned in 1794. The following quotation from F. A. Larocque shows that he, in 1807, at the behest of John Macdonell, rebuilt the place with timbers probably taken from the Fort XY which was abandoned in 1805.

"In May (1807) I had the house and the hangards (magazine and store-houses) which were not of absolute and immediate necessity thrown down and had them rafted to a place called Pine Fort (from an old fort that had been founded there in Mr. Robert Grant's time). about 13 miles lower down the river in pursuance of directions from Mr. J. Macdonell who had planned the erection of a fort at that place, and the demolition of the one where I had wintered. Kept all the men that I could spare at work in rebuilding these hangards and before I left the place all the property was removed to the new fort and under cover."[3]

When La Vérendrye was on the Assiniboine in 1738 he would have been glad to know of a site having the natural advantages of Pine Fort. In the neighbourhood were to be found all the requirements of a voyageur, viz., birch bark, spruce gum, and ground juniper rootlets which would pro-

[1]Lawrence J. Burpee, Journals and Letters of La Vérendrye. Champlain Society, 1926, Toronto.
[2]A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 289.
[3]L. J. Burpee, Journal de Larocque (F.A.) de la Rivière Assiniboine, etc., 1911.

vide wattap to lace bark on the canoes.[1] Pine Fort was not
built till thirty years after La Vérendrye's time. The date
of its closing is uncertain.

FORT ESPERANCE (1787)

The next fort of importance was Fort Esperance, near
Welby, Saskatchewan. It was built by Robert Grant in 1787
on the Qu'Appelle River. This post stood on the right or
south bank of this tributary of the Assiniboine, below Cut
Arm Creek, section 32, township 17, range 13, W.1. From
Pine Fort to Fort Esperance extended the buffalo country
which supplied the northern traders with pemmican, fresh
meat and grease. The north in turn supplied the furs.

Cuthbert Grant's House or Aspin House
or Fort de la Rivière Tremblante (1791)

As we continue on our way up the Assiniboine, leaving
Qu'Appelle on our left, and passing the mouth of the Shell
on our right, and on our left further north the Whitesand
River, we recall that David Thompson, in 1797, found this
country full of beaver but "their destruction had already
begun." Next we come to Aspin House built in 1791 by
Robert Grant. It became known as the "Upper Post" or
"Cuthbert Grant's House." Built in section 10, township 28,
range 31, west of the principal meridian, it is located near
Togo, Saskatchewan.

Trade War

Business competition, political animosity, rival national-
ism, all combined to make the fur trade in the Assiniboine
area very lively in the closing decade of the eighteenth
century. Up to 1790 the North West Company had matters
all its own way, but after that date men, like Peter and David
Grant, who had not been accepted into the partnership,
decided to strike out as "Independents." The Hudson's Bay
Company also decided matters had gone far enough with

[1]David A. Stewart, Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Trans. No. 5, (new
series) p. 9.

the opposing companies, and in 1793 the factors of the Great Company resolved to take part in the fray.

From two directions the factors entered. John Sutherland, and Donald MacKay came into the Red River country from Fort Albany by the English River, encountering Cuthbert Grant and John Macdonell, Northwesters, at St. Andrews Rapids on the Red River near Lockport, Manitoba. From the north via the Churchill or Nelson Rivers came Isham to enter the contest in the Swan River area. Let us briefly survey the struggle in the northern part.

Swan River Area

Cuthbert Grant, a Scotch half-breed, opened the contest by building Swan River House for the North West Company. It was on the left bank of the river, twelve miles from Swan Lake. In 1790, Charles Price Isham, of the Hudson's Bay Company, built a Swan River House for his company on the right bank about two hundred yards north of Grant's. Three years later, i.e., in 1793, Grant decided to build near Thunderbird Mountain so as to intercept furs passing to Swan River House (H.B. Co.). Isham next built (1794) Somerset House, two miles above Grant's latest venture. This latter house was within two miles of the confluence of Thunder Creek and Swan River. As if these four houses were not enough, Isham decided to build Marlboro House near the elbow of the Assiniboine, where Fort Pelly was erected in 1824. Five houses did not suffice, for the Northwesters built Fort Alexandria, in honour of Alexander Mackenzie, sixteen miles to the west of Marlboro House; and, not to be outdone, the Hudson's Bay Company built Carlton House, a few hundred yards away. The "South Company" too had posts near the Hudson's Bay Company men at Swan River House and Somerset House. About fifteen posts were at one time in the area.

Shell River Area

Just a few miles further south, where the Shell River enters the Assiniboine on its left bank, rival forts also were erected. Peter Grant, Independent, built a house at Rivière

Coquille (Shell River). Cuthbert Grant (N.W.Co.) was also quick to build. Both forts according to Peter Fidler, were on the left bank of the Assiniboine, one mile below Shell River. Soon John Sutherland of the Hudson's Bay Company arrived. In the fall he erected a house on the right bank of the Assiniboine, where he would be in a position to view his opponents. Three forts were thus crowded into a small area. Sutherland, however, abandoned his Shell River post in 1796, and built Albany House, a mile above the elbow of the Assiniboine and Marlboro House. The latter was abandoned just then. John Macdonell considered Shell River "a trifling post, as most of the Indians go to River Tremblante and River Qui Appelle."

The Qu'Appelle Area

We have already mentioned the erection, in 1787, of Fort Esperance (N.W.Co.) near Welby, Saskatchewan, on the right bank of the Qu'Appelle. Now the free trader, Peter Grant, erected a fort near Silver Creek, ten miles above the mouth of the Qu'Appelle. The Hudson's Bay Company had a fort there also.

Virden—Montagne à la Bosse Fort

The North-West Company, which was well supplied with forts, had one east of Gopher Creek on section 11, township 10, range 25, W.1, about three miles north of Routledge on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Called Fort Montagne à la Bosse (Hump Mountain), it was erected by John Macdonell, who was opposed by Peter Grant. The Hudson's Bay Company did not intervene. Goodwin was at the time manager of Brandon House. As he considered Portage la Prairie a more important point he sent William Linklater to build beside William McKay, the North West Company man at that place. The time was the winter of 1794-1795.

John Macdonell[1] has this to say in "The Red River" diary about the Virden Fort:

"The Mountain à la Bosse, the nearest post to the North West Company's settlement at River La Souris and distant from it six days' voyage

[1]Sometimes spelled McDonnell. He was brother of Governor Miles Macdonell.

for the canoes and two days for the foot men through the plains, has been frequently established and as often abandoned owing to the oppositions that come into that quarter, as these gentlemen, when by themselves, establish as few posts as they conveniently can, in order to save property. On the contrary, when incommoded by newcomers they subdivide and divert the trade into as many little channels, as they have men and clerks to occupy, well knowing that their opponents, who have but few goods generally, cannot oppose them at every place. Six days' march from Montagne à la Bosse the River qui appelle enters the Assiniboil River and on it two short days' march in canoes further up is Fort Esperance . . . Provisions are their chief return."[2]

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[2]L. R. Masson, LES BOURGEOIS DE LA COMPAGNIE DU NORD-OUEST, Quebec. 1889-1890. The Red River Diary, 1797.

CHAPTER III

THE SOURIS-ASSINIBOINE FORTS

Cameron's House (Independent) 1793.

Assiniboine House (N.W.Co.) 1793-1805.

Brandon House No. 1 (H.B.Co.) Oct. 15, 1793-1818 and 1821-1824.

XY Fort 1795-1805.

La Souris Fort (Combined N.W.Co. & XY Co.) 1805-1821.

Brandon House No. 2 (H.B.Co.) 1818-1821.

Brandon House No. 3 (H.B.Co.) 1828-1832.

Cameron's House—Assiniboine House

NEARLY THREE MILES to the north of Treesbank in the north-east quarter of section 19, township 8, range 16, W.1, there were three trading posts, and at one time there was possibly a fourth. The first one was a small affair founded by an independent trader named Ronald Cameron, clerk to the independent trader, Peter Grant. The year was 1793. The post was possibly called Cameron's House. As far as is known no traces of it remain. Independent fur dealers were a thorn in the side of both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. "Bourgeois" Cuthbert Grant, the chief North West Company factor in the area, sent a capable but illiterate trader named "Old Auge" with goods and chattels to trade beside Cameron House. The fort which "Old Auge" built rejoiced in five names, viz., Assiniboine House, Fort Assiniboine, Macdonell House, Stone Indian River House, Rivière la Souris House. It was on the northeast quarter of the section, on the north side of the river. The zealous antiquarian, who wishes to locate it, will travel the west line of the section north from Treesbank for exactly three miles, and will then find ruins west of the road allowance between the road and the north bank of the river.

This fort of the North West Company was in use from 1793-1805. It replaced Pine Fort in 1794.
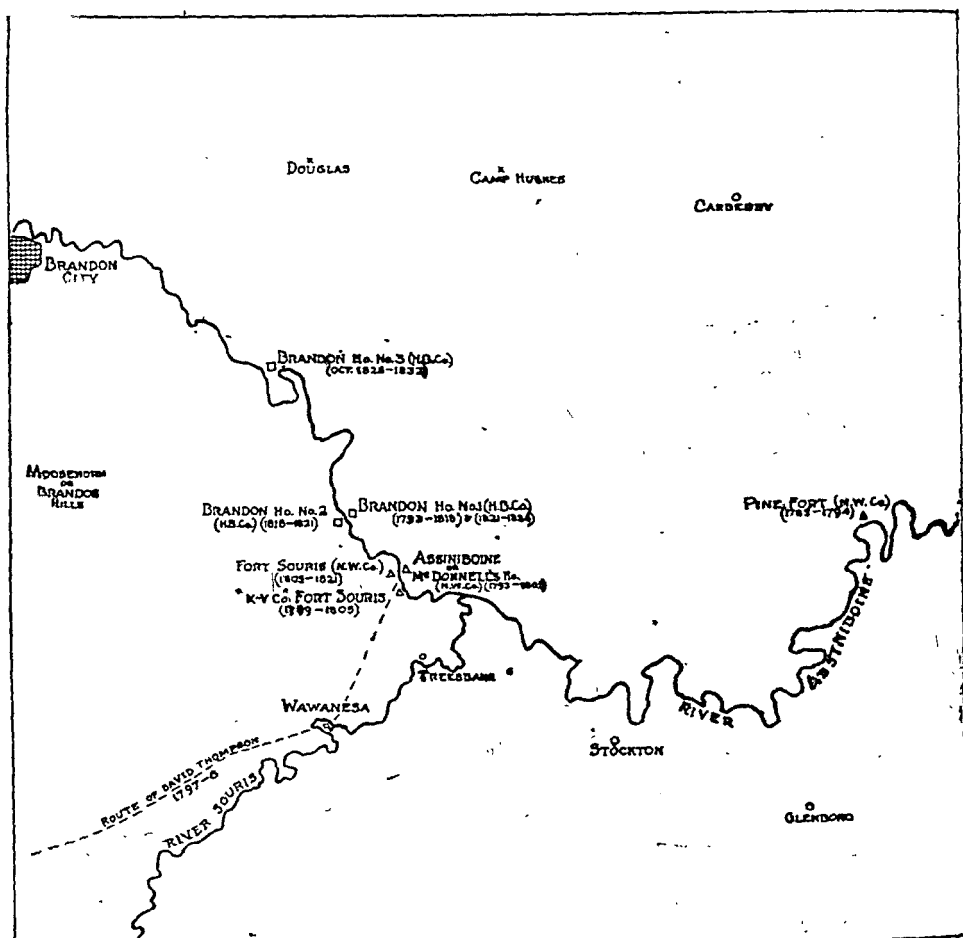
Courtesy of Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society.

CHART VII

Map of the Assiniboine River in the Souris-mouth area showing the sites of early trading posts.

Brandon House No. 1, 1793-1818 and 1821-1824

No self-respecting company like the Hudson's Bay could afford to be beaten by an independent trader like Ronald Cameron or by a comparatively recent upstart like the North West Company, hence we find the English traders establishing on the Assiniboine River about three miles northwest of Assiniboine House, in the northeast corner of section 35,

township 8, range 17 W, a fort, large and commodious. The new post was Brandon House[1] No. 1 which was opened by "Mad" Donald McKay, on October 16, 1793. This establishment, the first of three Brandon houses, was on the north bank of the river (see Chart XVI). It was in full operation from the time of its opening till 1816, when the half-breeds, who were in league with the Northwesters, and who were on their way to the massacre at Seven Oaks, looted and burned the buildings. The summer and fall of 1816 saw the house rebuilt, only to receive once more the unwelcome attentions of its old enemies who frequently used "The Fort's Trail" which ran along the north river bank. As a result of these set-backs the Hudson's Bay Company decided to build a new post on the south bank of the river, and there we find Brandon House No. 2, doing business from 1818 to 1821.

XY Fort 1795-1805

All was not well within the councils of the North West Company. A domineering old man, Simon McTavish, was ruling the roost in Montreal. In defiance of his authority a smaller but very energetic company was formed (1795) in opposition to its parent. This new combine was called the "XY Company." It too began to erect a fort which according to J. B. Tyrrell was situated "on the middle east and west line of section 19 and with a bearing south $30\frac{1}{2}$ east from the half-mile post north of the other fort (described below)." This fort which operated from 1799-1805 was nearly opposite Assiniboine House and yet in the same quarter section. It was, however, on the south bank of the river. (See Chart XVI).

La Souris Fort (Combined N.W.Co. & XY Co.) 1805-1821

The death in 1804 of Simon McTavish allowed the North West Company and the XY Company to join forces and avoid disaster from competitive trade. The new chief director

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[1]"Place-names of Manitoba," Dom. Gov. Publication at page 18 quotes D. A. Stewart as follows: "Brandon House was probably named after the 8th Duke of Hamilton (1756-99), the head of the house of Douglas, who in 1782 took his seat in the House of Lords as Duke of Brandon, Suffolk, England. Everything goes to show that the family held largely of Hudson's Bay Company stock before Thos. Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, came into his inheritance, in 1799, and that he was led to take steps to visit Rupert's Land from this circumstance."

was Sir Alexander Mackenzie. After the amalgamation both Fort Assiniboine and XY were closed and a new fort was erected in the same quarter section. According to Tyrrell the new house was situated in section 19, township 8, range 16 W, on the south side of the Assiniboine—"on the line between east and west halves of section 19, and 125 yards south of the half-mile post on the north line of the section." This Fort La Souris (amalgamated N.W.Co. & XY Co.) was operating from 1805-1821.

Brandon House No. 2, 1818-1821

Peter Fidler, a Hudson's Bay Company surveyor, visited Brandon House No. 2 in the summer of 1818. He described it as a small new house, thirty by fourteen feet. There were a smith and coopers' shops, a trading room, provisions stores, stables, and houses for men and Indians when they came to trade. It is not unlikely that the old house and gardens were in use at the same time as the new buildings. Both houses were in the same quarter section. Mr. Morgan, who owned the land from 1890-1946, stated they were practically opposite each other, and that when he came to the area in 1890 "a good portion of a stone or cement foundation was visible" on the north bank.

In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company united, and Brandon House No. 2 was abandoned in favour of Brandon House No. 1. It too was abandoned in 1824. It fell into disrepair and was never reoccupied.

Brandon House No. 3, 1828-1832

Brandon House No. 3 was built in 1828 on the northwest corner of section 31, township 9, range 17 W, on a site overlooking picturesque Glen Souris. It functioned as a trading post till 1832. A cairn marks its location. Just before Brandon House No. 3 closed, Fort Ellice was opened by the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1831, to replace it. This fort was situated on Beaver Creek about four miles south of the mouth of the Qu'Appelle. (See map of Stone Indian River, page ii). It flowed into the Assiniboine from the west. Built to attract the Crees and the Assiniboine Indians who were

being drawn away by the American post at Turtle Mountain, Fort Ellice remained in use till about 1885.

We have named seven forts near the junction of the Souris and Assiniboine Rivers. One more might be added to the number. Barkley, of the South Men, built a fort between Brandon House No. 2 and Fort La Souris. Its site is unknown.

During the lifetime of these forts their fortunes were varied, their visitors many, and their life was not uninteresting. The reader will learn something of life, their atmosphere, as we describe the visitors—such men as David Thompson, the explorer scientist, and Alexander Henry, the fur trader, diarist. But first let us examine in a general way conditions as then existing in the land through which the Assiniboine flowed.

CHAPTER IV·

LIFE IN THE ASSINIBOINE BASIN

LIFE IN THE Assiniboine basin prior to May 2, 1670, was on a free, if not easy basis. Pierre Radisson, in a nostalgic vein expresses in classic phrase his feelings for the good old days: "We were Caesars, there being nobody to contradict us." With the granting of the Hudson's Bay Company charter on the date mentioned, the fur trade in England and in Canada became, for the first time, an organized business.

The charter was granted by Charles II to eighteen incorporators, soon to be mentioned as proprietors. The document set forth that the proprietors were to select a Governor, Deputy Governor, and a Management Committee of seven members. This organization, with little if any change, has been the executive of the Honourable Company for over two hundred years.

In 'order to contact the source of the furs it was necessary for the committee to send an "outfit" to Hudson Bay. A ship and captain was a necessity. The "Nonsuch" was the former, Captain Gilliard the latter. From this point new trading terms begin to appear.

Charles Bayley, as first resident governor, went to the Bay with the first "outfit" in 1670. In the beginning he ruled a fort or factory and its people—the surgeon, accountant, postmaster, clerks, traders, apprentices. Little by little the organization increased; more forts or factories were built. The resident governor in course of time commanded several groups of houses, each group of which was presided over by a chief factor or chief trader. This in turn led to the simple trader, the man who contacted smaller parties of Indians, or ruled a small house.

The coming of the North West Company in 1768, with French connections, added still more terms to the life of the fur men. "Voyageurs" from Quebec drove their canoes from the East to the rivers of the West. The "Partners" came as far as Grand Portage. "Winterers" or Winter partners kept with the outfit to spend the winter in the furlands. Traders by

this time were common, factors were many, but in the smaller houses they were called "bourgeois' or post managers; thus James Sutherland 1794-1796, John Bunn 1801, John McKay 1802-1810, Peter Fidler 1815-1817 were bourgeois at Brandon House on the dates mentioned.

Most of the forts were built after a common pattern which was designed to serve a common purpose. They had to be a protection against Indians and yet be strategically located for trade with the natives. They were near the trails and placed on knolls or elevations, whence the doings of the redman would be under observation. A description of one house will serve as a description for all. J. B. Tyrrell, who examined the Assiniboine forts in July 1890, gives a sketch of La Souris, reproduced on page 28, which is typical. The fort was situated "on a level grassy terrace twenty feet above the river." Like all forts, La Souris had a stockade possibly eight to ten feet in height, and made of poles. Sometimes the stockade was square, sometimes oblong. The stockades can be traced by a trench two feet wide and one foot deep in the middle. There were two gateways, each about ten feet wide. These were located by the break in the trench and also by holes indicating where gate posts once stood. Inside the enclosure there were several buildings . . . a large two-storey building like a hotel, a store, several dwelling houses, the residences of the more important factors or "Winterers," a well, pits for bones, waste, etc., and some small sheds possibly used as stables. The large store just inside the gate was probably divided into sections—one part with a counter and open to the Indians—the other part a room for goods, muskets, a guard and even cannon. Very little was left to chance when visiting Assiniboines were present. When the site of a fort was being chosen, the natural advantages of a position were not overlooked. Brandon House No. 1, for example, was perfectly accessible from the river, and it commanded a good view of both banks and the surrounding country, but it was approached with difficulty from the land because it was nearly encircled by a muskeg. All the other forts conformed to type. Their dimensions might be larger or smaller or they might have more buildings but there was no other essential difference.
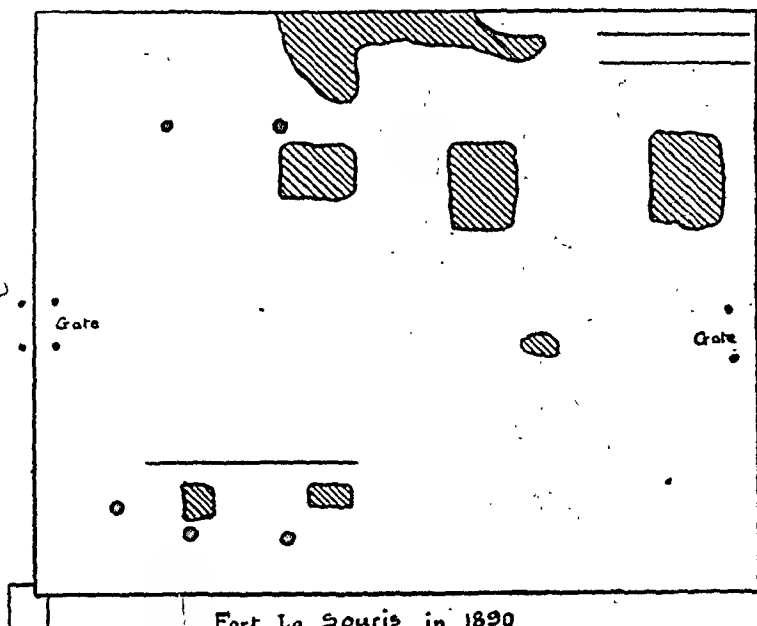
Fort La Souris in 1890

Fort La Souris in 1890. Sketch plan made by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell of Trading Post Site on Mair's Farm. On July 31, 1945, the site was but a greener patch in a green wheat field, so little do we care for the sites of our historic past.

The inhabitants of the forts varied with the season of the year. There were the more or less permanent guards and their wives and children. There were the hunters or pedlars, the coureurs de bois, who visited the fort when they had secured their pack. When the traders set out from Michilmacimac or Fort William in early spring, it took them nearly two months to reach the West. They were rowed by the "comers and goers"—"the pork eaters." The house became a centre of great activity as canoes were unloaded and stores of trade goods were dumped in the fort. The merchandise was such things as rolls of Brazil tobacco, rolls of Spencer twist, kegs of powder, sacks of balls, bales of cloth, kegs of wine, pounds of vermilion, bunches of blue beads, capots, blankets, hatchets, axes, liquor, mirrors and the miscellaneous collection one might expect in a trading store. The beaver skin was the Indian money.[1]

[1]George Bryce, A HISTORY OF MANITOBA, 1906, pp. 28 and 29. Montreal and Toronto: The Canada History Company.

The motto of the Hudson's Bay Company "Pro Pelle Cutem"—"A skin for a skin," really meant what it said. Sir William Butler explains the scale of barter as follows:

"The value of articles are computed 'by skins,' for instance, a horse will be reckoned at 60 skins; and these sixty skins will be given thus: a gun, fifteen skins; a copote, ten skins; a blanket, ten skins; ball and powder, ten skins; tobacco, 15 skins—total, sixty skins. The Bull Ermine—or whatever may be the brave's name, hands over the horse, and gets in return a blanket, a gun, a capote, ball and powder, and tobacco. The term "skin" is a very old one in the fur trade; the original standard, the beaver skin— or as it was called, 'the made beaver'—was the medium of exchange, and every other skin and article of trade was graduated upon the scale of the beaver; thus a beaver or a skin was reckoned equivalent to one mink skin, one marten was equal to two skins, one black fox twenty skins and so on; in the same manner a blanket, a capote, a gun, a kettle had their different values in skins."[1]

In the early days the valley was a land of plenty. John Macdonell reported that in 1797 "Buffalo, moose, deer, caberie, and fowl abounded. The canoes always had fresh meat or fowl in the kettles." Pemmican too was plentiful, as buffalo roamed the plains in huge herds. Fort Esperance, near the mouth of the Qu'Appelle, shipped "275 taureau of pemmican" in 1794.

There were irritants however, at the forts. Henry tells us that the common house fly was quite troublesome in every building and "the mosquitoes were intolerable."[2] Henry often found it necessary to ride his horse over the rivers. To avoid wetting his garments he rode naked. Alas, the mosquitoes so tormented both man and horse, that the horse ran away, and the afflicted rider was compelled to chase his equine companion while he himself was thus unclad.[3]

When the traders were out in search of skins the inhabitants of the forts were generally busy. They made ropes, to tether their horses, from the long hair which grows between the horns of the buffalo. The Indians used to work at this also, but they were slower than the whiteman.[4]

The men also used to cut, pile and store wood for the winter. They mowed grass, made and stacked hay, and pre-

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[1] Sir William F. Butler, THE GREAT LONE LAND, 1928, (Published originally 1872), p. 283. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd.
[2] Elliott Coues, New Light on the Early History of the Greater North West, etc. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897. Vol. I, pp. 304 et seq.
[3] Coues, Vol. I pp. 416 et seq.
[4] Coues, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 289 et seq.

served it for their ponies. In fact the inhabitants of the fort lived a very ordinary life except in so far as there was eternal solitude for their safety from the uncertain behaviour of the Indians.

Like their modern successors, they were not above discussing their neighbours and doing good turns to those around them. "Old Auge" of La Souris fort did not like Mad Donald McKay, the Hudson's Bay factor at Brandon House He called him le malin,[1] the madman. McKay, it is true was a bit of a "loud mouth" and liked to "talk big," and was not above taking a "pot shot" at either "pedlar" whites or Indians who came too near his preserves, but yet when Bourgeois Grant and Chief Clerk Macdonell, both of the North West Company, treated him nicely after such an affair, McKay invited them to have a hearty breakfast at his house. La Souris House must have been in quite a commotion that morning as fourteen canoes and three boats left for Pine Fort down the river.

The "Ossinepoilles," Stone Indians, or the Assiniboines, acquired their name from their manner of cooking meat. A hole was made in the ground and then lined with a buffalo hide. Into the depression was poured water, and then a joint of buffalo was added. In order to cook the meat, stones were heated to white heat and then conveyed to the hollow. This was kept up until the cooking was completed. When the whiteman's kettle reached the western plains the old method of cooking was abolished, but the name of its users still remained "The Stonies" or Stone Indians.

Previous to 1770 the lodges of the Assiniboines might be seen dotting with great frequency the shores of the Manitoba lakes from the Red River to Paskoiac, (The Pas) a distance of 800 miles. Later they spread to the banks of the North Saskatchewan River, and subsequently extended their sway to foothills of the Rockies. But soon the deadly enemy of all Indians, smallpox, appeared on the plains, and with great virulence destroyed the central portion of the tribe. The remnants on the outskirts, about 1837, then drew themselves together, and in the struggle for existence under Chief Tehatka, the "left-handed," they proved themselves doughty .

[1] L. R. Masson, Op. cit., The Red River Diary.
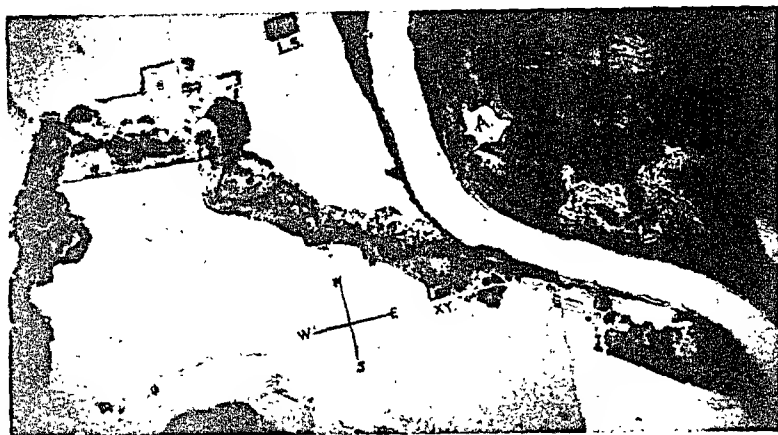
La Souris, XY, and Assiniboine Forts. (See explanatory note.)
(N.E. ¼ sec., 19 tp., 8, ra. 17 W.1).

AERIAL PHOTO OF ASSINIBOINE, LA SOURIS, AND XY FORTS

The dark section on the west is Five Mile Creek mentioned by the Canadian authoress, Nellie McClung, in her books. This creek is also called "Mair Creek" after George Mair, who homesteaded northeast quarter of section 19, township 8, range 16 W.1, in the spring of 1879. The "Mair Creek" was about four feet wide and four inches deep on July 31, 1945, but Mr. Norman Wilkie, a local farmer, stated that he had seen it over three feet deep in springtime. Mair Creek passes south of the Mair dwelling house, and enters the Assiniboine a little to the right of the centre of the picture. The mark ☐ indicates the site of the forts west of the Assiniboine. The north fort is La Souris, belonging to the North West Company. The XY Fort (Independent), south of the entrance of Mair Creek into Assiniboine, is on the edge of a poplar oak bluff. The farm buildings in the southwest corner of the picture belong to Raymer Brown. Morley Brown's buildings are in the southeast quarter section. Both buildings are south of the east and west half-mile line. Fort Assiniboine (N.W.Co.) was on the white area in the bush, just northeast of centre of the picture. One track leads down to the river. It was possibly used in 1793. Other tracks lead inland. The Hudson's Bay Company (Brandon Houses 1 and 2) were two and one-half miles upstream. The lines marked north, south, east and west show the quarter section lines. The white patch on the east side about centre is ploughed land. In general the dark patches are bush and trees on the river banks.
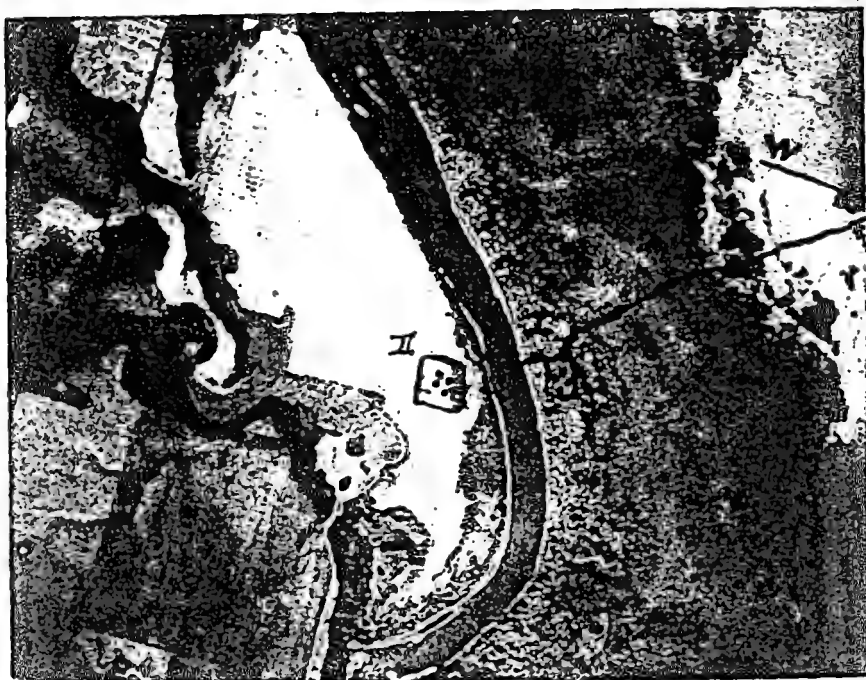
Aerial view of Brandon Houses 1 and 2. House 1 is on east side of Assiniboine River. A trail leads to it across a slough. Fort 2 is directly opposite. The latter is ploughed except for a few basements. Outlines are visible in the wheat fields.
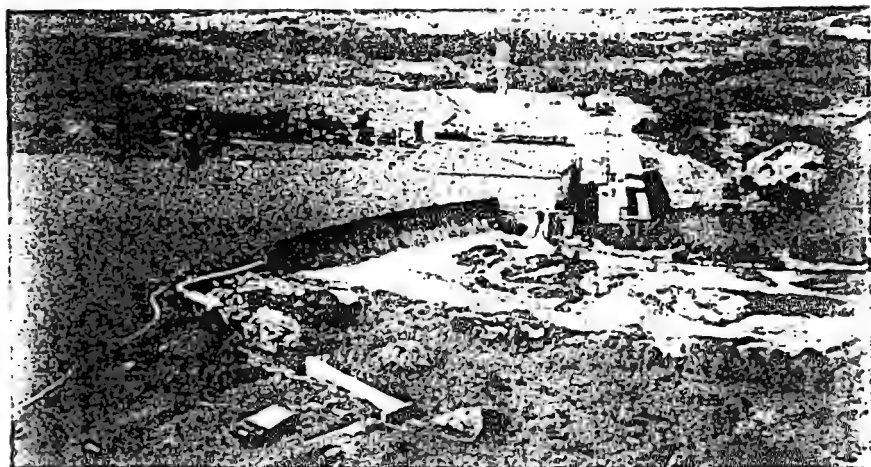
Voyageurs from Montreal passed these waterfalls at Pointe du Bois on their way to the Brandon forts.

warriors. Learning from past experience, they kept well out on the plains when smallpox appeared. Even so, they had difficulty in resisting the inroads of the Crees from the north, and the Blackfeet from the southwest.

Trading

In dealing with such warriors extra precautions had to be taken and trading posts built with great ingenuity. One built for trade with these western cousins of the Assiniboines was Rocky Mountain House. Sir William Butler thus describes the house and a trade carried out with the Blackfeet, who would be visitors in the territories of the Rocky Mountain Assiniboines.

"The Mountain House is perhaps the most singular specimen of an Indian trading post to be found in the wide territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. Every precaution known to the traders has put in force to prevent the possibility of surprise during 'a trade.' Bars and bolts and places to fire down at the Indians who are trading abound in every direction; so dreaded is the name borne by the Blackfeet, that it is thus their trading post has been constructed. . . . When the Blackfeet arrive on a trading visit to the Mountain House they usually come in large numbers, prepared for a brush with either Crees or Stonies. The camp is formed at some distance from the fort, the braves, having piled their robes, leather, and provisions on the backs of their wives or their horses, approach in long cavalcade. The officer goes out to meet them, and the gates are closed. Many speeches are made, and the chief, to show his 'big heart,' usually piles on top of a horse a heterogeneous mass of buffalo robes, pemmican, and dried meat, and hands horse and all he carries over to the trader. After such a present no man can possibly entertain for a moment a doubt upon the subject of the big-heartedness of the donor, but if, in the trade which ensues after this present has been made, it should happen that fifty horses are bought by the Company, not one of all the band will cost so dear as that which demonstrates the large-heartedness of the brave."[1]

Trade as we have shown was carried out on the barter system. Butler continues:

"Sapoomaxica, or the Big Crow's Foot, having demonstrated the bigness of his heart, and received in return a tangible proof of the corresponding size of the trader's, addresses his braves, cautioning them against violence or rough behaviour—the braves standing ready with their peltries, are in a high state of excitement to begin the trade. Within the fort all the preparations have been completed, communications cut off between the Indian room and the rest of the buildings, guns placed up in the loft overhead, and

[1]Sir W. F. Butler, The Great Lone Land, 1872, pp. 281, 282, 283. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd.

men all get ready for any thing that might turn up; then the outer gate is thrown open, and a large throng enters the Indian room. Three or four of the first-comers are now admitted through a narrow passage into the trading-shop, from the shelves of which most of the blankets, red cloth, and beads have been removed, for the redman brought into the presence of so much finery would unfortunately behave very much after the manner of a hungry boy put in immediate juxtaposition to bath-buns, cream-cakes, and jam-fritters, to the complete collapse of profit upon the trade to the Hudson's Bay Company. The first Indians admitted hand in their peltries through a wooden grating, and receive in exchange so many blankets, beads, or strouds. Out they go to the large hall where their comrades are anxiously awaiting their turn, and in rush another batch, and the doors are locked again. The reappearance of the fortunate braves with the much-coveted articles of finery adds immensely to the excitement. What did they see inside? 'Oh, not much, only a few dozen blankets and a few guns, and a little tea and sugar'; this is terrible news for the outsiders, and the crush to get in increases tenfold, under the belief that the good things will all be gone. So the trade progresses, until at last all the peltries and provisions have changed hands, and there is nothing more to be traded; but sometimes things do not run quite so smoothly. Sometimes, when the stock of pemmican or robes is small, the braves object to see their 'pile' go for a little parcel of tea or sugar. The steelyard and weighing-balance are their especial objects of dislike. 'What for you put on one side tea or sugar, and on the other a little bit of iron?' they say; 'don't know what that medicine is—but, look here, put on one side of that thing that swings a bag of pemmican, and put on the other side blankets and tea and sugar, and then, when the two sides stop swinging, you take the bag of pemmican and we will take the blankets and the tea; that would be fair, for one side will be big as the other.' This is a very bright idea on the part of the Four Bears, and elicits universal satisfaction all round. Four Bears and his brethren are, however, a little bit put out of conceit when the trader observes, "Well, let it be as you say. We will make the balance swing level between the bag of pemmican and the blankets, but we will carry out the idea still further. You will put your marten skins and your otter and fisher skins on one side, I will put against them on the other my blankets, and my gun and ball and powder; then when both sides are level, you will take the ball and powder and the blankets, and I will take the marten and the rest of the fine furs.' This proposition throws a new light upon the question of weighing-machines and steelyards, and, after some little deliberation, it is resolved to abide by the old plan of letting the white trader decide the weight him-self in his own way, for it is clear that the steelyard is a great medicine which no brave can understand, and which can only be manipulated by a white medicine man."[1]

An Incident

There were other incidents more grim than that of Donald McKay, le malin, lying in wait for "Old Auge." Both, we

[1]Butler, Op. cit. p. 285.

gather, were cranks. We have considered carefully whether we should repeat the following story but have decided to do so because it dispels the false glamor in which we are wont to dress the heroic past, and enables us to realize the barbarism of the valley, little more than one hundred years ago. Agnes Laut tells the tale of a French-Canadian named Trottier who had a beautiful daughter, Marguerite, by a Cree wife. He pondered long whether he should bestow her on an Indian brave or on a white trader, both of whom desired her hand. At last the white trader, Jutras, won. The advantages were many. The happy party came up the Assiniboine in the spring to Qu'Appelle. In the summer a child was born. In the fall, near Whitewood, on the trip down river to the forks, the word was passed that the Assiniboines were on the war path. Two bourgeois, Daniel MacKenzie and John McDonald, of Garth, on their way to Fort William, rode far behind the canoes. They missed the braves. It did not take the latter much time to find the women and child, and the few men in the canoes. The Indian girl's white husband fled before the yells of the redmen to seek refuge in the nearest fort. The braves quickly scalped and stripped the women and carried off the child. When the horsemen caught up, Daniel MacKenzie discovered the canoes soaked in blood and their occupants apparently dead . . . then a feeble voice was heard calling for her child. It was the woman, Marguerite Trottier, who feigning death had outwitted the enemy. MacKenzie went in search of the baby. He found it too, scalped, yet breathing. The "braves" had fixed the scalp to a tree and shot arrows at it. MacKenzie, Catholic as he was, ensured the child's passage to heaven, by baptizing it in his tears, and returned to tell the mother. The latter was saved by fixing on her head the bladder of a new killed animal. The party moved to Brandon House. Later returning to Pembina, Marguerite embraced the religion of her rescuer, and scorning her caitiff husband, married a Mr. Gingras and lived to be nearly one hundred years of age.[1]

The incident is gruesome, but it illustrates the savage background of the period (1809).

[1]Agnes Laut, The Conquest of the Great North West, pp. 38 et seq. New York: The Outing Publishing Co.

All prairie life was not so tragic. The pioneers had their gay moments. Daniel Harmon, a New Englander, came to La Souris on Monday, May 27, 1805, from Kamsack. Mr. Harmon describes his visit thus:

"Last evening Mr. Chaboillez (Manager, N.W. Co.) invited the people of the other two forts to a dance, and we had a real Northwest country ball. When three fourths of the people had drunk so much as to be incapable of walking straight, the other fourth thought it was time to put an end to the ball or rather brawl. This morning we were invited to breakfast at the Hudson's Bay House with a Mr. McKay and in the evening to a dance. This, however, ended more decently than the one of the preceding evening."[1]
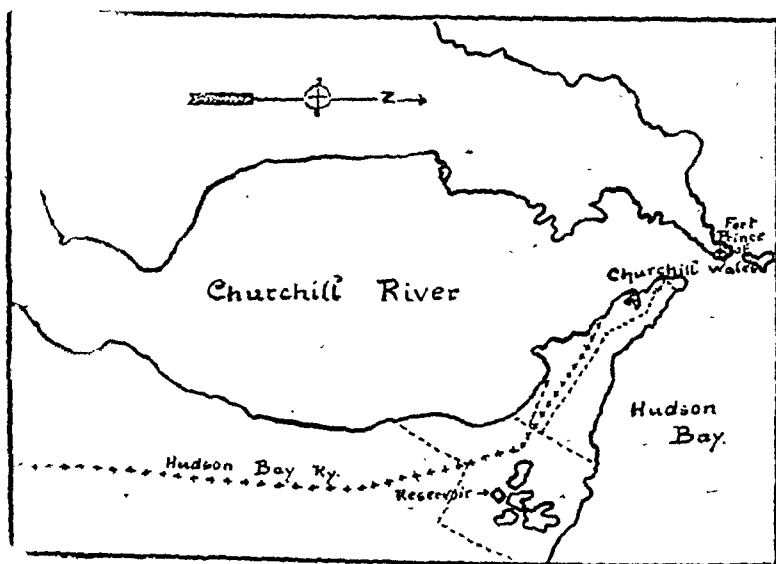
Port Churchill and Fort Prince of Wales

Courtesy of Publications Branch Saskatchewan Government.

CHART VIII

PORT CHURCHILL AND FORT PRINCE OF WALES

Then, as now, the north land supplied the perfect port with natural protection, deep harbour entrance, safety from storms, ample depth, draught practically unlimited, and plenty of space. Port Churchill is a natural free port like Hamburg or Singapore. Fort Prince of Wales was begun in 1732. Its fine defensive features have always influenced sea-farers. The Selkirk Settlers, however, desired a more southerly landing place and used Port Nelson.

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[1]Daniel William Harmon, Op. cit.

Sometimes the atmosphere at the Houses was not so happy. Hunger stalked the land. In 1806, according to Henry, there were only two buffalo bulls in the whole river basin. There were feather beds, he tells us, and clean shirts, but the

". . . establishment (Fort La Souris) is now in a miserable condition: they have neither flesh nor fish—nothing but some old musty bear meat and no grease. They have had but fourteen animals including cabbrie since the departure of the canoes in May last, and a few bags of pemmican—a mere trifle for three clerks, one interpreter, three labouring men, and forty-seven women and children or fifty-four people entitled to regular rations. . . . Their hunter came in from the Moose Hills (Brandon Hills) with two red deer which certainly was a seasonable supply."[1]

The forts of the Assiniboine-Souris area were not out of contact with the world. Their managers went sometimes to York factory (H.B.Co.) or to Fort William (N.W.Co.), and their comparative isolation was to be further reduced for a new tide in Canadian affairs was to break over the prairie land. The Houses were about to receive new neighbours, and shortly to be involved in a war.

[1]Elliott Coues, Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 416.

CHAPTER V

THE PEMMICAN WAR

On June 5, 1771, there was born in Scotland a "practical idealist" named Thomas Douglas, who, under the title of Lord Selkirk, was destined to play a great part in the development of the Canadian West. Thomas Douglas had formed the opinion in his youth, in his contacts with fellow students at Edinburgh University, and on his holidays among the poor crofters of northern Scotland, that the basic root of the poverty and misery then spread over the British Isles in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, was the scarcity of good farm lands freed from rack rent. He noticed that the same conditions existed in Ireland where the absentee landlords ruined the farmers by exacting exorbitant rents, and then spent the money in riotous living in Paris and London. On a visit to Montreal he made the acquaintance there of directors of the great North West Company, most of whose members were from Scotland. One man, Colin Robertson, till lately a member of that combine, seems to have influenced him greatly. He listened with sympathetic understanding when Robertson informed him that some day a great colony would arise in the neighbourhood of the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. On his return to Scotland, after pondering over the ideas suggested by Robertson, he decided to study the organisation of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the territories it ruled over. It is not impossible that he was encouraged in this interest by his marriage, in 1807, to the daughter of Andrew Colville, a prominent shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company.

Having satisfied himself that the lands of the Company could be legally transferred to him for colonization, Douglas proceeded to buy shares. He had purchased sufficient to have a large number of the votes on the board before the directors of the North West Company, who viewed this move with alarm, were aware of what was being done. By 1811 he had secured title to a tract of land of 116,000 square miles, situated in the present Province of Manitoba, Dakota, and Min-

MAP OF
ASSINIBOIA
AND THE
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT
CHESTER MARTIN

HUDSON BAY
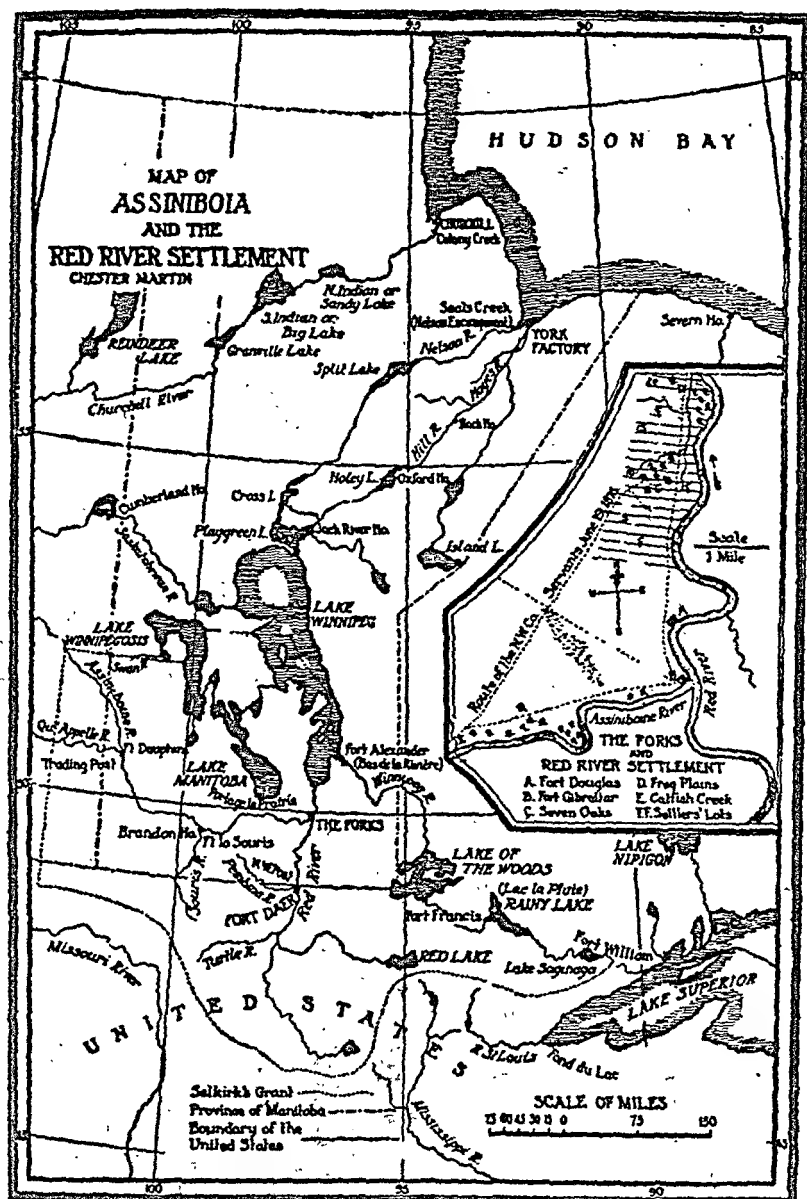
Courtesy of Hudson's Bay Co.

CHART IX

This map shows grant made to Lork Selkirk and the route which the Selkirk
Settlers followed to the Forks of the Red and to Pembina.

nesota. In the face of great opposition Lord Selkirk entered upon the realization of his dreams. From the beginning, everything was against the project—ignorance of the conditions in the West, ignorance of the weather, the best time to sail, the lack of agricultural implements, and many other things. Nothing, however, could daunt the noble lord and his governor, Miles Macdonell. Soon the West began to receive its first colonists. They came in by Hudson Bay. Bryce enumerates these Selkirk Settlers as follows:[1]

Arriving 1811 in H. Bay, reaching Red River in 1812___70
Arriving 1812 in H. Bay, reaching Red River in 1813___20
Arriving 1813 in H. Bay, reaching Red River in 1814___93
Arriving 1815 in H. Bay, reaching Red River in 1815___100

Among the newcomers were some Irish people from Sligo. As their names have often been overlooked we give them here: Corcoran, McKim, Green, Quinn, Jordan, O'Rourke, McDonell, Toomey, and Father Bourke.[2] The last returned to Ireland to seek further colonists.

In the beginning the newcomers were treated hospitably by the fur traders of the North West Company at Fort Gibraltar, and Governor Macdonell, in 1812, expressed his appreciation to the North West Company traders for selling the colonists potatoes, barley, oats, cattle, pigs and poultry.

All would have been well in the colony if the common men in the settlement at the forks had been allowed to live free from outside influence, but Lord Selkirk, though an idealist and in the main a practical one, was somewhat imbued with old country ideas of the feudal rights of a lord. He considered that the North West Company hunters had no rights in his settlements in the Assiniboine country, and at his behest, on January 8, 1814, Miles Macdonell issued a proclamation forbidding trade in provisions and in pemmican, which was the staple article of food. No one might sell pemmican; it was all needed for the permanent settlers, and, in effect, the fur traders of the North West Company would be compelled to leave the area or starve. These restrictions which limited trade in provisions from January 1814 to January 1815, started the Pemmican War.

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[1]George Bryce, op. cit. p. 71.
[2]Father Bourke was first clergyman from British Isles to arrive at Hudson Bay.

The North West traders who had withstood the frosts and heats of the Assiniboine-Red River basin, deeply resented a policy which was calculated to exclude them from a region which they had pioneered. As in the much later days of Manitoba's prohibition law trade in pemmican, as in alcohol, was carried on *sub rosa*. Miles Macdonell gave orders that the commands of his lord must be carried out. Surgeon Holdsworth was dispatched with a proclamation to be posted at Brandon House and delivered to La Souris, the North West Company post, across the Assiniboine. Still the trade went on, for the La Souris district was the pemmican region. Sheriff Spencer was sent up from the forks with a double escort to enforce the order. The Northwesters at La Souris, retired within their stockade, and Spencer and Howse, a Hudson's Bay Company trader, and others, were forced to break open the gate and seize 400 or 600 skins of pemmican, each weighing 85 pounds, and store it, in part, in Brandon House No. 1, and ship part to the Fort Douglas.

The war went on, aided and abetted by the directors of the North West Company in Fort William, who were naturally incensed at the treatment of their men at La Souris. Through the summer of 1815, by hint and innuendo, they secured the help of the half-breeds; and in May 1816, Cuthbert Grant, a born leader, of mixed Scottish and Indian descent, and who combined the best leader characteristics of the Indian and Scot, at the head of a motley band attacked and seized a Hudson's Bay Company brigade of boats descending the Assiniboine, laden with pemmican, provisions and furs.

On June 1, 1816, this same band under the same leader, attacked and partially burned Brandon House No. 1 on the north bank. Its contents were destroyed or stolen. Stores were seized. This was Brandon's first experience of war.

The destruction of Brandon House was but the prelude to a sanguinary contest at Seven Oaks. The half-breeds, reinforced at Fort de la Reine near Portage la Prairie, swept on to the forks, and proceeding northeast from the vicinity of Headingly, met with Governor Semple's (H.B.Co.) men at Seven Oaks, about two miles north of Portage Avenue and Main Street, Winnipeg, on June 19, 1816. Twenty-two of

Semple's party were slain. The half-breeds lost one man. Big John Macdonell, governor of La Souris, was glad when the news was brought west by the half-breeds. The North West Company was momentarily in the ascendant, but soon Lord Selkirk arrived with two hundred De Meuron soldiers to protect his settlers. The quarrel continued for several years but economic reverses soon caused the Northwesters to act more prudently. Their Company was, on March 26, 1821, merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, and once more peace reigned over the West. Lord Selkirk, the man whose vision had brought the first settlers to the Assiniboine country, died in April, 1820, of tuberculosis, at Pau in southern France. He was buried in the cemetery of Orthes.

Peter Fidler (1769-1822)

Among the men who at one time or another held sway over Brandon House No. 1, there are few as interesting as Peter Fidler who was bourgeois in charge there in 1815.

Fidler was born at Balsover, Derbyshire, England, in August, 1769.[1] One gathers that he arrived in Rupert's Land about 1789. He was not long in the West when he was summoned from a South Branch House to the Hudson's Bay post at Cumberland House where he was to spend the winter of 1789 studying surveying. The Hudson's Bay Company had decided at this time to explore the trading possibilities of the Athabaska district. David Thompson was the surveyor designate, but when a broken leg made it impossible for him to fill the position, Fidler was called on to receive the training. Though the Athabaska expedition of 1794 failed, nevertheless Peter explored the Churchill River, and later found his surveyor's course extremely useful in the Assiniboine and Red River basins.

In the years following 1794, Peter was to be encountered at various points. He learned a great deal about North West trading practices which he did not like, and about the Indians, one of whom he married. Peter had several children, at least two were boys, viz., Thomas and Peter. In 1802, Peter senior was to be found at Cumberland House, and in 1808 as a surveyor, he located La Vérendrye's Fort la Reine

[1] Arthur S. Morton, UNDER WESTERN SKIES, p. 104. Toronto: Nelson & Company.

A Map

of Red River District
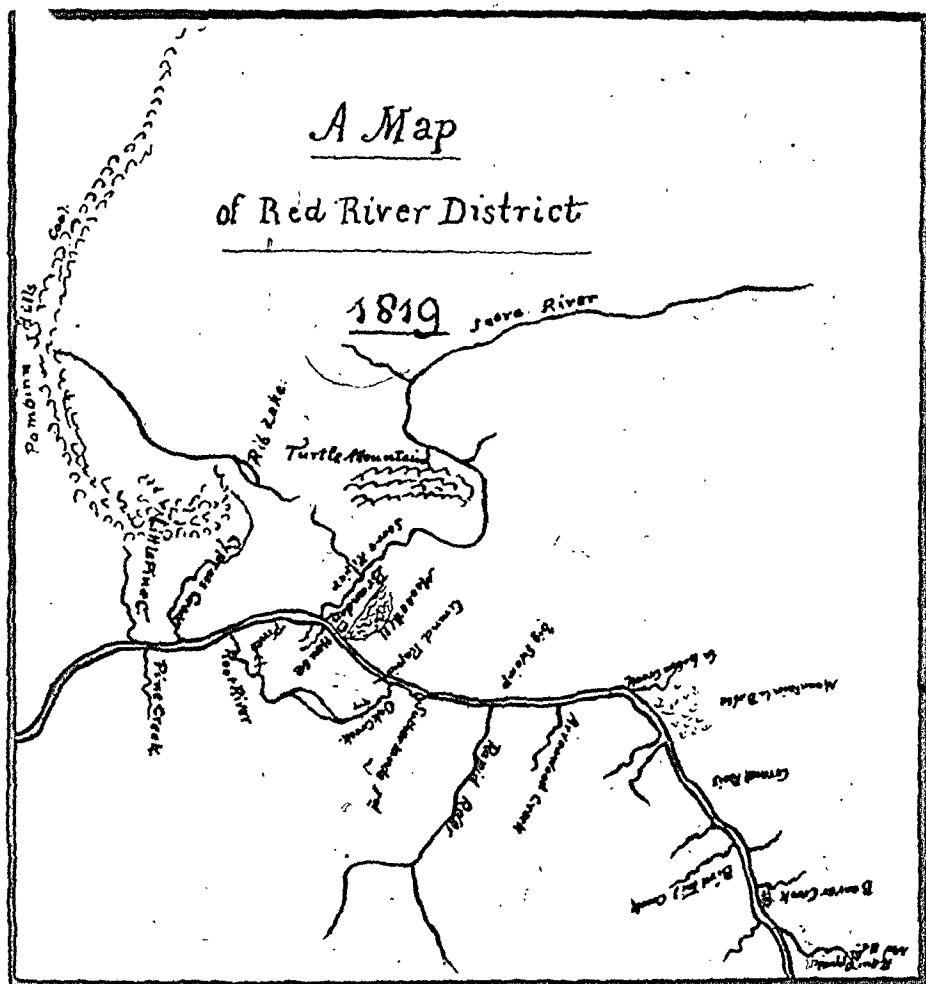
1819

CHART X

Peter Fidler's map of 1819 showing H.B. Posts, including Brandon House—
at that time on south side. Copied by the H.B.Co. from manuscript map in
their possession. Peter made his map upside down.

on the left or north bank of the Assiniboine River, about two
miles east of Poplar Point station on the main line of the
Canadian Pacific Railway. This would place the site twenty-
one miles east of Portage la Prairie. We recommend for the
reader's study, a map of the Red River made by Peter in
1819.

Peter's statements are frank and illuminating. A case in

point is where he says that it was smallpox which saved the white traders in 1780, in the Swan Lake area. The Indians were on their way to attack Swan Lake post when they were taken with the disease. They were literally decimated, and the plot was abandoned.

From 1815-1817 Fidler was in charge of the traders and clerks in the Red River (Assiniboia) district. He was so well esteemed by his company that in 1815, the very first year, we find him conducting one of the parties of Selkirk Settlers from the Bay to Fort Douglas. Just previous to this he had surveyed the territory of Assiniboia, which was the portion of Manitoba purchased by Lord Selkirk. He also surveyed the thirty-six lots which the first settlers had in Kildonan parish, in Winnipeg.

The years between 1815-1817 were not idle ones for Peter. We find him sending Miles Macdonell a cart load of pemmican and seed potatoes. Later on this generous Englishman sent sixty bags of pemmican, each weighing ninety pounds, to the Red River Settlement. He was "very ready at all times to contribute every assistance." He even bought a bull, a cow, and a heifer from the North West Company, Fort La Souris, opposite Brandon House, and paid £100 for them, and then shipped them down to the new settlers where the bull was promptly named Adam, and the cow Eve.

Miles Macdonell, the governor of the Selkirk settlement, had a council to advise him, Peter Fidler was a member. On June 16, 1815, we find him advising the Governor to surrender himself to the North West Company.

Fidler deserves to be remembered for his map, his will, and his report on the Red River district. The documents are of sufficient human interest and historical importance to be given some detailed notice at this point. They reveal the character and genius of the man who once ruled Brandon House. As the report, in its original form, would be difficult to read, it has been modernized as regards spelling and punctuation.

Peter Fidler's Will[1]

Peter Fidler made his will at Norway House where, at the

[1]George Bryce, THE REMARKABLE HISTORY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, pp. 283-284. Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1900.

time, he seemed to have his official quarters. We summarize some of the principal clauses.

1. Fidler wished to be buried in the Red River settlement for which he had an affection.

2. He desired that his journals, which covered about thirty years, and his maps should be given to the Hudson's Bay Company.

3. His library and scientific instruments such as globes, microscope, sextant, and barometer were to be given to the Governor of Assiniboia for the use of the Selkirk Settlers.

4. His cattle, pigs, poultry were to be turned over to the Red River settlers. (He had bought these for £100 from John Willis who founded Fort Gibraltar for the North West Company).

5. Mrs. Fidler, his Indian wife, was to have the equivalent of £15 worth of Hudson's Bay Company goods given to her each year. Peter's deposits with the Company were to pay for these.

6. Peter also wanted the interest on his money to be paid by the Hudson's Bay Company, or by the Bank of England, to be divided equally among his children as they needed it, till they came of age.

7. The interest being disposed of, Fidler decided to display his eccentricity. He disposes of the residue as follows:
   ."All· my money in the funds and other personal property after the youngest child has attained twenty-one years of age, to be placed in the public funds, and the interest annually due to be added to the capital and continue so until August 16, 1969 (I being born on that day 200 years before), when the whole amount of the principal and interest accumulated I will and desire to be then placed at the disposal of the next male heir in direct descent from my son Peter Fidler.". His youngest son, Peter Fidler, was to receive his father's house in Bolsover, Derby, after his paternal grandmother had died. Fidler dated his will August 16, 1821.[1] He named

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[1] Fidler died in 1822.

as his executors Donald McKenzie, governor of the Selkirk settlement; William Smith, secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, and John Henry Pelly, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company. These men would not act as administrators and Thomas Fidler, Peter's son, administered the will.

People by the name of Fidler need not rejoice that 1969 is near at hand, because there are no funds available either in the Hudson's Bay Company or in the Bank of England awaiting the day of distribution. All that remains is the memory of an eccentric who once ruled Brandon House.

But Peter Fidler deserves to be remembered for his long report in May 1819, on the Red River district. Because of its general interest we produce it here with the kind permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. The extract is punctuated and the spelling is modernized. Otherwise the selection is just as it left its author's hand at Brandon House No. 2 in May, 1819.

> *Extract from the general report of Red River District—Peter Fidler—May, 1819.- (Spelling and punctuation are mostly brought up to date).*

"Beginning at Lake Winnipeg, the first post occupied by the Company (H.B.Co.) is two or three miles up 'Dead River' or Netley Creek on the west bank of the Red River. For these several years the trade from there is very trifling since the rats and beaver have become scarce. The second post is at the Forks or Junction of the Red and Assiniboine River on the north side established by us two years, and by the North West Company in 1811. Brandon House six miles above the Souris River (is) on the south side and (was) established in 1793.

"The next post up the Assiniboine River is Beaver Creek twenty miles by land from River Qu'Appelle House established in 1817. The other post is below Turtle River about fifteen miles by land above Pembina. These are the different trading posts in this district inhabited this winter—Second Dead River House three very poor small Houses.

"At the Forks large buildings are beginning to be erected and to be enclosed with excellent oak pickets . . . Brandon House is in a ruinous state occasioned by the wabrules[1] (or half-breeds) in 1816. . . . A small new house was built here last summer (1818) thirty feet by fourteen feet. There are a smith and coopers' shops—also a trading room, provisions stores and two stables with house for men and Indians when they come to the Houses to trade.

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[1]Bois-brûlé "burned wood".—Half-breeds were swarthy.

"At Beaver Creek there are several buildings as being a great place for the Stone Indians and (it is) enclosed with poplar pickets about thirty-five yards square. Third, the only place at present where there are at the Forks, Brandon House and Beaver Creek. At the Forks last summer about two acres were in cultivation (purchased with a small house from a free-man). (They were) planted with potatoes, a little wheat and barley but the grasshoppers destroyed the whole of the latter. This spring the ground is considerably enlarged making use of the plough. At Brandon House last summer the barley was destroyed by grasshoppers and almost continuous drought entirely destroyed the potatoes, turnips, etc., so that there was not the least benefit derived from the labour. Since 1812 there were always good crops of everything until 1816 when the dry summers commenced. The land here (Brandon House) under cultivation was upwards of three English acres. At Beaver Creek about half an acre enclosed which produce a few potatoes and a few kegs of barley with some other smaller vegetables but the dry weather greatly deteriorated the expected produce. This spring they are going to enlarge the garden a little but at present (22nd April, 1819) the season has every appearance of being as dry as latterly. Fourth, the quality of the soil at Dead River is dark, rich mould. At the forks (it is) rather more sandy but produces good returns. At Brandon House (it is) still more sandy but in wet or rainy seasons (it) produces abundant crops. Beaver Creek (is) better soil—not so sandy as at Brandon House and (there are) generally tolerable crops. Fifth, generally the spade and hoe is used by turning over the soil in the spring when the seed is put in. At Brandon House the plough is used. Manure is seldom used except for raising cucumbers, melons or onions. The wheat and barley is cut down with the sickle and are secured generally in cellars within the House—well covered with grass to secure them as well as the turnips from the frost. Sixth, Potatoes at the trading establishments have generally been the most attended to, which was first introduced into these parts about 1780. These with a few cabbages and turnips constituted the whole produce of the gardens till within these eight or ten years wheat and particularly barley have been raised at several trading posts. Excellent potatoes can be raised in the Athabaska (area) as well as cabbage. Wheat and barley very probably would not come to maturity there. When I wintered at the Athabaska Lake we had good gardens there in 1803, 1804 and 1805, and the Canadians followed our example. The wheat produces 40, the barley 45 and the potatoes about 50 bushels for one sown. The potatoes are put into the ground about May 10th and taken up the middle of October, but they are eatable after 25th July. Oats have, as yet, been tried but in small quantities, but they produce well and of a good body. Seventh—The cultivation of this river may be extended with one additional hand to more than treble the ground under present culture. Millstones might also be had to reduce (the grain) into flour, etc. Where horses may be had as in this river several acres might be sown with wheat, barley, etc., but the few men generally left inland would not be able to secure the whole crop that might be put in the ground without any additional expense. Eight—Sturgeon which pass by here 10th May (Brandon House) every spring would afford a very ample supply for many people. Some of them ascend as high as Shell River more than 800 miles by the

river. The natives frequently make fences of wood to prevent their (sturgeons) descent to Lake Winnipeg and by this means preserve a constant and very ample supply for summer. The traders sometimes pursue this Indian method. A few burbat or catfish about eight to twelve pounds each. There are also flat fish about one-half to three-quarters of a pound each, besides two or three other kinds.

Buffaloes are in general plentiful in this district—particularly the southern and western parts of it. Red deer some "moose deer" or elk (are found) in the Turtle Mountain which is like an island in the open plains about 25 miles long by near 10 wide. It is very woody with numerous small lakes and a few creeks which discharge into the Souris or Sandy River. (There were) formerly plenty of beaver, now there are very few. Wherever I have been and from information from the tribes I gather that the country is becoming drier than formerly. Numbers of small lakes have become good firm land with timber of various kinds but generally willows or poplar or ash is the first produce. There are a number of small lakes east of Brandon House that produce Tizina aquatica or wild rice. A few years ago an Indian sowed some in two or three places on the south side of the Assiniboine. It grew and multiplied. Where the water is too deep or the seasons too dry, no tender crops are brought to maturity."[1]

Bay Company. Factory Journals, Box 521, No. 495.
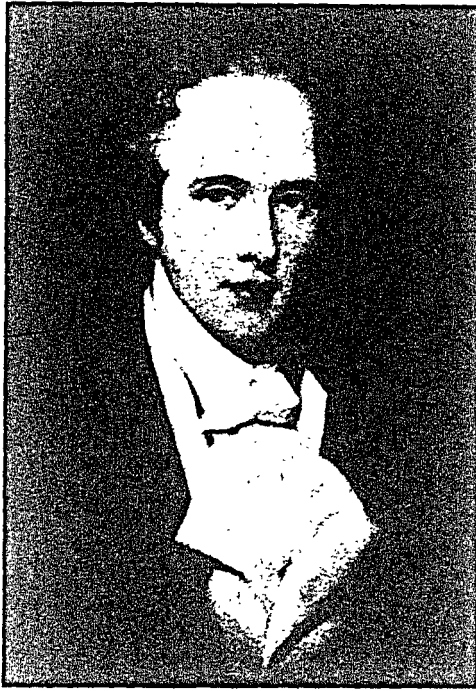
Like a lighthouse illuminating the darker
corners of the world, Lord Selkirk's genius
was the one ray, seeking to penetrate the
British Colonial Office after the Napoleonic
wars. The noble lord's photo is shown above

Cut—Courtesy Line Elevators Farm Service.
Photo—Courtesy of Dr. Bird, Brandon.

A plague of grasshoppers drove the Selkirk Settlers to Pembina. Not only
grain but every form of vegetation was destroyed.
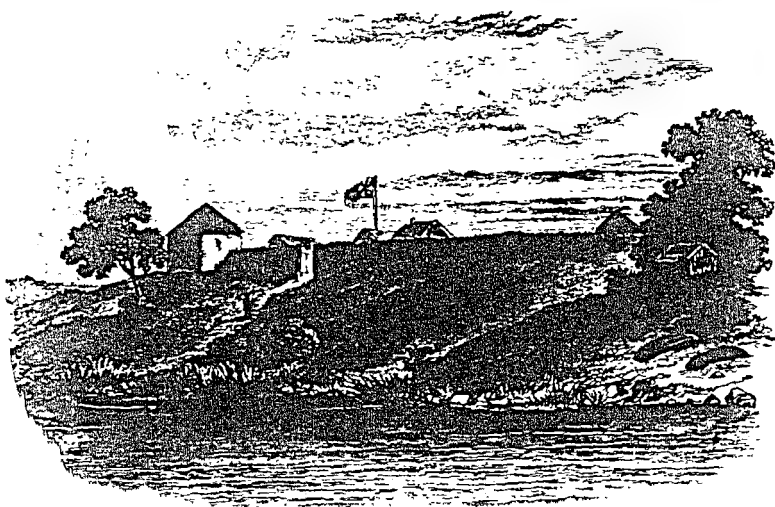
... was situated on Red River near Royal Alexandra Hotel,
... road ran north and south along the right river bank. The
... road in vicinity of the fort where the H.B.Co
... had their headquarters
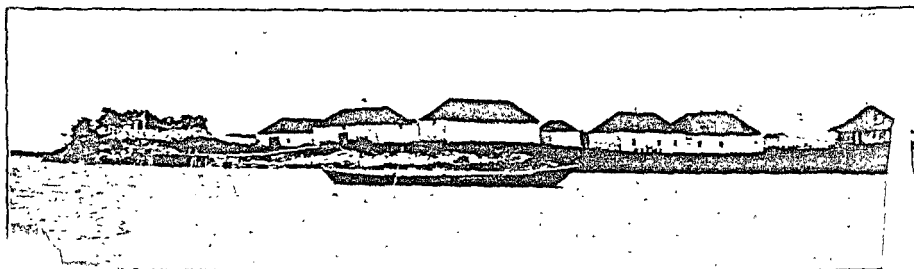
The Hudson's Bay Company post, Norway House, was built in 1817 on Jack
River in northern Manitoba. In 1814 sixty Selkirk Settlers driven out by the
... West Officer, Duncan Cameron, found refuge in the vicinity of
... use They were led back to the Red River by Colin Robertson.

CHAPTER VI

THE WANDERINGS OF JOHN PRITCHARD

JOHN PRITCHARD, the hero of the following incidents, came to XY Fort from England about 1800. After his harrowing experience Pritchard joined the Hudson's Bay Company, and was one of the few survivors of the Battle of Seven Oaks. In 1820 he was president of The Buffalo Wool Company, formed in the Red River Settlement. He later moved to East Kildonan and conducted a school there. Still later, he became a member of the Council of Assiniboia.

The letter is reproduced by permission of The Hudson's Bay Company in whose magazine, "The Beaver," the letter appeared in June, 1942.

"Neppigone, December 20th, 1805

"My DEAR BROTHER:

"I shall now endeavour to give you an account of my wanderings and consequent sufferings last summer. Had it not been for the request I made you in my enclosed letter from the Grand Portage, I should have even suppressed it, and I trust my dear parents will never hear of it.

On the 10th of June one of our clerks, having had one of his horses stolen, came and applied to me to assist him with two others. That not being in my power, we agreed to go to the Mountain la Bosse (an establishment distant about fifty miles) and from there he was to take a guide to the River Qu'Appelle. On our arrival at the Mountain la Bosse we could by no means procure a guide and very foolishly risked the journey ourselves, it being a distance of about 70 miles across the plains. On the second night we plainly perceived our folly and consequently determined that if we could not find the River Qu'Appelle the next morning to return, and about twelve o'clock next day changed our route accordingly.

"My friend went to fetch the horses and I began to gather wood in order to light a fire. I, perceiving my friend's horse unfettered, called to him not to endeavour to go near to him, or they would both run and we should lose them. I then made a fire to entice them as they were much tormented by the mosquitoes and in that case will immediately gallop to a smoke. My friend paid no attention to my advertisement but kept running after the horses till I lost sight of them. It was in vain for me, who was still extremely lame from my misfortunes the preceding winter, to attempt following after him, therefore I thought it most advisable to make fires upon all the banks near me, which might be a guide to him, should he not be able to find his way to me.

47

III

·Twelve o'clock came but not my friend. I now began to be almost disconsolate, and perceiving a hill at a considerable distance off which appeared to me to be in the plains, I determined to go there and make a fire After having passed a thick wood, to my inexpressible grief I found the hill to be in the midst of another adjoining wood. When arrived at the hill from the top of which I had hopes of seeing the plains again, to my mortification I found myself surrounded by thick and almost inexpressible (impenetrable?) woods. I then determined to return to the encampment.

I had not advanced far before the sky began to darken, and a heavy storm of thunder and rain came on. It was now impossible to find my way back, having lost my guide, the sun.[1] Towards night I found a small river with a considerable current in it. I determined to sleep there and the next day to follow its course, well knowing it must discharge itself with the great Red River. Next morning at break of day I began to prepare for my departure, but how dreadfully afflicting my situation, without even blanket, gun or knife, my shoes already worn out and nothing but my clothes to renew them with. It was then the fourth day, and I had eaten nothing except an egg and one frog the day before. The country was unknown to me and even had I known my way to my fort, the distance was so great I could have no hope, lame as I then was, of being able to reach it. I gave my soul to Almighty God and prayed that His and not my will might be done. Seeing death inevitable, I became calm and resigned to my fate.

"Towards evening I discovered the plains and, as I thought, the great Red River, which pleased me much as I should then die with the hope of my body being found by the canoes in the fall; but what was still more pleasant to me, I found a kite's nest with two young ones. They were still unfleged and about the size of a full-grown pigeon, I made a fire and singed the down off one, which I hastily devoured, the other I subsisted upon two days. What appeared to me to be the Red River was nothing more than a point of the woods on the river where I was. I walked or rather crept along this river for about ten days more, living chiefly upon frogs except three young magpies. I now perceived my body completely wasted. Nothing was left of me but my bones covered with a skin thinner than paper, I was perfectly naked, my clothes having been worn in shoes. I now perceived at a considerable distance to the right of me a river which appeared large, and being almost certain it was the Red River, purposed the next morning to make an effort to get to it. Accordingly I set out. Having advanced a considerable distance across the plains, I became so thirsty I could not proceed. I then prayed to Almighty God that He in His great goodness suffer me to die of hunger and not of thirst, but if so it was His pleasure not mine, but His will be done. Our Heavenly Father was pleased to hear my prayer, and I found a small spring very near me and was determined there to die, being fearful if I left the spring I would find no other water.

"Oh, my dear brother, how shall I describe to you my feelings at this moment; what crimes, said I, have I committed to deserve so dreadful a death. My body I have seen wasted away by degrees. I have not a friend

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[1]John Pritchard started for some fort on the Qu'Appelle River. Instead of going north-west he advanced west and then south, and eventually followed Pipestone Creek to near Oak Lake. (See map). Seeing the trees on the Souris bank he crossed the plains to that river which he mistook for the Assiniboine.

to close my eye or blanket to cover my body and far from a holy sepulchre receiving this my earthly frame, that wolf and yonder bird of prey wait only my parting breath to devour my poor remains.

"On the next day I arrived at the river, and found it to be much smaller than the Red River.[1] I forded it, and advanced into the plains to a small lake, where I slept. Some days before, I had found a nest of small eggs about the size of sparrows, and I had eaten nothing else. How mortifying to me to see the buffaloes quenching their thirst in every lake near to which I slept, and geese and swans in abundance whilst I was dying of hunger in this land of plenty, for want of wherewith to kill.

"After having wandered about for some days, I perceived some woods at a distance which I again supposed were upon the banks of the Red River, but was again disappointed, and found it to be a mountain or chain of banks. I proceeded along the same till I found some water in a small brook, and, supposing there might be small fish, devoted a part of the next day to making a fishing line with my hair, and the wire of my hat buckle I worked with my teeth into the form of a hook, but had no opportunity of making use of it, as I found no fish. I here passed two days without eating, and on the second evening began to arrange my bed in the best manner I could, in order to breathe my last. Pain, disappointment, and hunger had now given way to despair. I was now so weak I could not get up the bank of the river, in order to put a mark, but upon my hands and knees.

"I had not lain down many minutes, before my mind, or rather my soul, suggested to me my want of confidence in God's power and goodness, and the heinousness of my offence in thus abandoning myself to despair. I immediately rose and prayed my Heavenly Father to forgive, strengthen and support me. An old wolf trap being near to me, I took two sticks from it in order to help me up the bank. I was no sooner on its edge when a hen grouse flew directly in my face, as I suppose to protect its young. I threw my stick at it and she fell dead at my feet. It was not I that killed it, it was the Almighty, for I had not then sufficient strength. In an ecstasy of joy and gratitude, I threw myself upon the ground, and poured out thanks to the Giver of all goodness. I ate part of the bird that night and the next day the rest, and then continued my route, not leaving the little river as I dreaded the want of water elsewhere. A serene and pleasant calm had now taken possession of my mind and never after forsook me. I this day found a plant, whose root the Canadians call the turnip of the plains. But not having a knife or axe to make a stick, I had no hope of digging them up; the root being at least a foot in the earth, and the ground extremely hard. The root is from two to three and one-half inches long and one and one-half in girth, by no means unpleasant to the palate. I thought upon the sticks I had taken from the wolf-trap, one of which I still retained. It having been pointed for its former use was in every respect fitted for my purpose. I therefore set to work, which was very great labour for me in my weak state. Having eaten a few raw, I returned to my encampment with about half a dozen, roasted them for supper, and found myself greatly refreshed next morning. I continually wandered about this river, living upon those

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[1]Disappointed by size of the Souris, John Pritchard journeyed southeast towards Turtle Mountains, all the time imagining himself far up the Assiniboine.

roots and with now and then a frog, in the hope of seeing some hunter or other.

"Every night I changed my encampment, each of which I supposed my last. On the thirtieth day, according to a stick upon which my teeth marked each miserable night, I perceived an elevated part of the plains, and immediately proceeded to it as from thence I could discover and be discovered at a greater distance. I found it to be an island in the middle of a large lake.[1] Being, as before mentioned, perfectly naked I did not venture to sleep there, being fearful its night-air would chill me to death; therefore I turned about and gained a point of the woods near, and slept or rather laid down under a fallen tree.

"I next day set off in order to regain the little river, but on my way, behold and admire, the Providence of the Almighty! I fancied, and was certain, I saw Indians at a distance, on a different line to the route I was taking. I arrived at the place and found it, to my great disappointment, to be nothing more than a few bushes. I then went to gather grass to make a fire, being too weak to break the sticks for that purpose.

"I had not proceeded half an acre before I perceived two old wintering houses. You cannot conceive with what ecstasy I beheld the remains of human dwelling. I supposed these houses to have been those of my friend Allen McDonald and the North West Company, at the lakes of the river Qu'Appelle.

"I now went to set a mark upon a small bank near the houses, and to dig up a few roots to appease my hunger. On my return, I made a fire and afterwards arranged a bed, as far as my strength would admit, in the form of a coffin. Being so reduced I could have no hope of going on farther, the soles of my feet, particularly that of my lame leg, being worn to the bones, I now sat upon the bed, and, taking a piece of birch bark, began to mark with a nail the melancholy history of my sufferings. I had fixed upon the chimney being the bearer of my epitaph, the straw left by the winterers being my only shroud.

"Whilst employed upon this melancholy occasion, I cast my eyes upon the ground, and, without any meaning, having taken up a piece of cord, found it to be tarred, and it struck me it must have belonged to the Hudson's Bay people. I then took notice of a sleigh that, from its make, I knew must have belonged to them. I now began to think I was mistaken in the place where I was, and that perhaps these were the Shell River houses. 'But,' said I, 'there ought to be three, namely, the Hudson's Bay Company's, North West Company's and our own. Good God,' I again exclaimed, 'perhaps 'tis the Turtle Mountain, and that its lake, but I can soon satisfy myself.'[2] The Hudson's Bay and North West Company passed part of last spring there, and if this is the place, I shall find wood cut in the spring, which must still be green. The houses I know are three years old. I directly looked about and, to my inexpressible joy, I found a scaffold, for the purpose of putting meat upon, of green wood and many other marks of recent habitation.

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[1]The lake mentioned is possibly White Water Lake east of Napinka, Manitoba, where the H.B.Co. and N.W.Co. had winter posts the previous year. (See Youle Hind report).
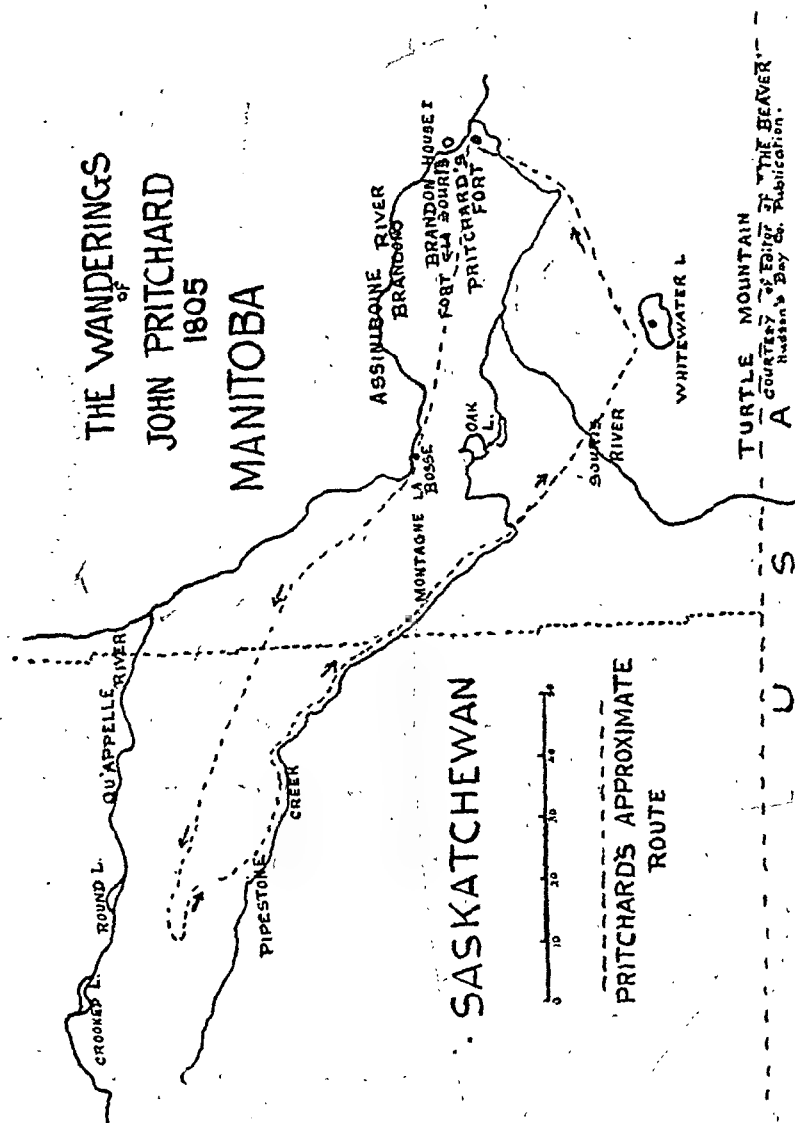[2]Pritchard was correct in his surmise as regards distance from XY Fort.

CHART XI

The wanderings of John Pritchard, 1805.

"Being now fully assured I was at the Turtle Mountain, an outpost from the establishment of my own neighbours distant from my own fort about sixty miles, I began with renovated hope to look into all the holes and corners for rags of any description to tie upon my feet, which were now in almost a putrid state.

"I had the good fortune to find a pair of old shoes the under leather of which was worn away and several pair of socks. I wrapped the whole about my feet, spent the night in prayer, and next morning at break of day, after invoking the Almighty to strengthen, guide, and support me, I took the road across the plain as near as I could judge homewards. That night I had the good fortune to find, and encamp upon, a small river where I had been to hunt buffaloes a few days before I left my fort, and from whence there is a beaten path to my house, which I was greatly in need of on account of my feet.

"Towards the evening of the following day I discovered a band of Indians crossing the plains before me, but I was too weak to call out or increase my pace to overtake them. I raised my stick upon which I put a shoe and had the happiness to find they observed my signal. I was quite overpowered and stood immovable. Two little boys came running up to me, but my appearance was so dreadful they were afraid to approach for some time. I encouraged them by signals to come to me, which they did: I gave them my hand but was so overcome at once more beholding a human being, that I fell senseless to the ground. When I came to myself, I found the little boys carrying me to their father; who, seeing something amiss, was coming forward to me with his horse.

"I was now helpless as a new-born infant, and too weak to ride on horseback, therefore the Indian carried me in his arms to his companions, to whom I was well known. On my arrival they came crying around me, one pulling off his shoes, another his stockings, and another covering me with his blanket; whilst my first friend was preparing a little pemmican of pounded buffalo meat and fat. Having eaten a little, for I was too far gone to have an appetite, and drank a cup of water; they prepared a kind of sleigh upon which I lay down, and was so drawn to their encampment, where we found about forty other tents of Indians.

"Whilst our tents were being put up, the men, women and children formed a large circle round me. They were extremely silent and afraid to come near me. It is impossible to describe to you what I was. I had not the appearance of an inhabitant of this world. Picture to yourself a man whose bones are scraped, not an atom of flesh remaining, then cover those bones with a loose skin, fine as the bladder of an animal, beard of forty days growth, his hair full of filth and scabs. You will then have some idea of what I was.

"The next day the Indians took me to my fort, in the same way as I was drawn to their tents. On seeing my fort I again became senseless.[1] They carried me into my room, and you may suppose my people flocked about me, scarcely believing their senses. With tears in their eyes they kept a mournful silence round me. One of my men, an old man that greatly loved me, did not even know me.

"Having recovered sufficient strength of mind, I gave to each my hand, and assured them nothing was amiss with me; that my intellects were as sound as ever, and that I was weak for want of nutriment. And now a universal joy played upon each countenance; one and all at the same time,

[1]The Indians possibly carried him, after forty days in the wilderness, along the Mandan trail to XY Fort.

putting questions to me. The news was soon at my neighbours. They and their men came running breathless to see me, my friend (John) McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company (at Brandon House, a gunshot away) brought with him flour, sugar, coffee and tea with a couple of grouse and immediately set a cooking himself as I believe the people were so transported that no one would have thought of providing for me.

"Having taken a little refreshment, they washed, shaved and clothed me. McKay dressed my feet and he became both my surgeon and nurse. I had a long dispute with my people, who would not for some time, suffer me to look at myself in a glass, for fear I should be disconcerted with my appearance. For fifteen days I was obliged to keep my bed and to be carried about like a child. A few days after my arrival the clerk who had been my companion came to see me. He had caught the horses, but could not find our encampment and arrived on the fourth day in a most deplorable state at the Mountain la Bosse. Every effort I found had been resorted to in order to find me. It was very gratifying to me to learn I was so dear to my friends. Every one thought me dead. The Indians said it was impossible I could be alive, and when anyone spoke of me, it was 'the poor deceased Pritchard.' Even many of my people were afraid to pass near my chamber in the night, for fear of seeing my ghost.

"The Kinistino Indians call me the Manitou, or Great Spirit, and some of them (according to their superstitious way of thinking) got so far as to say I possess a certain stone, which preserves me from all danger; as they can never suppose a white man could endure such misery. Even the mosquitoes they say were enough to kill me: indeed being naked, I suffered much from that insect. The Assiniboine Indians call me the Cheepi, which signifies a corpse, as such was my appearance when they found me.

"I shall now make some general remarks. I suffered greatly by a kind of grass very common in the plains, called by the Canadians, and very justly, the thorn grass. Even your shoes and leather breeches it finds its way through. At night when I encamped my legs had the appearance of a porcupine. I durst not take them out in the day, as others would immediately enter, and at night you may suppose the blood flowed. I once found a few raspberries, and I once killed and skinned a snake in order to eat it, but supposing it poison, threw it away and resigned myself to God. Both Indians and white people who saw me said they had seen the bodies of men dead from hunger, but never saw one so disfigured as mine.

"I never saw two days without rain, and in that case could make no fire, the grass being too wet to kindle, and I too weak to break wood, therefore the wet grass received my naked body for the night. You may imagine I did not sleep, and that I anxiously watched for the rising sun to warm my blood. Let us admire God's goodness, for who, but He, made me to suppose that I saw Indians in a different route from that my ideas were taking me, and by that means brought me to the houses."

CHAPTER VII

DAVID THOMPSON

(Born April 30, 1770, died February 16, 1857)

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY was accustomed to recruit its younger clerks from the students of the Blue Coat School in London. Among one batch of young men sent to the Hudson Bay was a youth named David Thompson, who had a talent for mathematics, and in addition, a love of exploration. In 1795 he explored the Athabaska River and liked the task. On returning to York Fort of the Hudson's Bay Company he asked for work of a similar nature. As it was not forthcoming, he decided to seek out the officers of the North West Company at Grand Portage, and ask for a position as surveyor-astronomer. Since those were the years when the United States-Canadian boundary issue was much to the fore, his request was granted.

Several problems were outlined for the young surveyor. Along what territory did the forty-ninth parallel lie? What tributary was the main source of the Mississippi? Where did it arise? Were the Mandans of the Missouri, whom traders from the Souris Forts had often visited, in Canadian or United States of America territory? What were the peculiar characteristics of these Indians and their neighbours? As the North West Company were really a fur trading combine they set one more task . . . Mr. Thompson was to determine the exact position of each trading post of the company. Needless to say Thompson had found his life-work and we find him engaged in this survey practically all his life.

On August 9, 1796, when a Great Northern brigade set out from Grand Portage, then quite an important centre on Lake Superior, David Thompson accompanied it. (It might be mentioned here that this headquarters of the North West Company situated at forty-eight degrees north latitude, and eighty-nine degrees, three minutes, four seconds west longitude, was later moved to Fort William when it was discovered to be south of the Canadian border). As Thompson came up Winnipeg River he noticed on the south bank,

Winnipeg House or Bas de la Rivière, at it was sometimes called. Close at hand he saw a Hudson's Bay Company[1] post which had been built during the previous year. The explorer's movements were determined by those of the brigade, so we find him crossing Lake Winnipeg and going thence by a Saskatchewan river, now called the Dauphin River, to Lake Manitoba, and thence by Meadow Portage to Lake Winnipegosis and Swan River. He arrived at the latter place, 9 a.m., September 21, 1797. The Swan River Post of the North West Company was twelve miles up river from the lake of that name, and after he had visited Fort Tremblante, or as the English call it, Aspin House or Cuthbert Grant's place, (even though it had been built by Robert Grant), he came to Fort Alexandria[1] about fifteen miles northwest of the Assiniboine Elbow. Thompson noted that the beaver and otter were being depleted by a multiplicity of hunters belonging to rival companies. The Hudson's Bay Company had, however, an advantage over their opponents as their headquarters at York Factory was near Swan Lake and hence they were able to equip and supply their Indians nearly a month ahead of the arrival of the Northwesters from Grand Portage. Cuthbert Grant, however, the leader of the latter, was a doughty opponent. Thompson also visited Belleau's Fort at fifty-three degrees north latitude, and possibly some other houses in that locality.

In 1797 it was decided to come south to the Qu'Appelle Valley House. A trader named Thorburn was in charge. Later arriving at Assiniboine House he found it in charge of John Macdonell, brother of Miles Macdonell of Selkirk

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[1]"Fort Alexandria is prettily situated on the left bank of the Winnipeg River, about a couple of miles above its junction with Lake Winnipeg. It is a larger and more important post than Fort Frances, and has a more imposing appearance, standing on a high ground forty or fifty feet above the river. From the top of a wooden tower thirty feet high, built in front of the post, an extensive view can be had of the surrounding country; to the right, the broad river is visible for many miles winding amongst the thick pine woods; to the left, the vast expanse of Lake Winnipeg spreading out like the ocean itself, as far as the eye can reach. The soil round the fort is very good, and the crops luxuriant."
"THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION" by Captain G. L. Huyshe of the staff of Col. Garnet Wolseley, Macmillan & Co., 1871.

[1]The following foot note is to be found on page 213 of Henry's Journal, Coues edition: "Fort Alexandria nine miles above one of the H.B.Co. posts, two days from Swan River, four days from Fort Dauphin, on rising ground near a prairie ten miles long and four to one mile broad. The fort sixteen by twelve rods, well built, plastered and whitewashed, strengthened in 1801 for fear of Fall Indians; abandoned April 18, 1805. Harmon arrived October 23, 1800. McLeod in charge then; Hugh McGillis arrived December 21, from Red Deer river. Harmon wintered there 1800-1801. (Not to be confounded with that Fort Alexandria which was named for Sir Alexander McKenzie, because built on the spot where he begins his retreat June 23, 1793; nor with Fort Alexander au Bas de la Rivière.)"

settlement fame. David Thompson evidently liked John
Macdonell and his quarters at Assiniboine House. Congenial
surroundings generally induce work and so we find that the
geographer writes up his journal, inks in his sketches and
prepares for his Mandan trip. One hundred and forty seven
years ago, as now, traders were inclined to be economical
and so we find Thompson setting out in company with free
traders who had been given credit for trade goods to the ex-
tent of fifty skins. The cavalcade was guided by Rene Jus-
saume, a white man "gone native." This man, who received
a dubious character both from Alexander Henry and
Thompson, was the interpreter. One Irishman, Hugh Mc-
Cracken, who knew the Mandan country, was in the ex-
pedition.
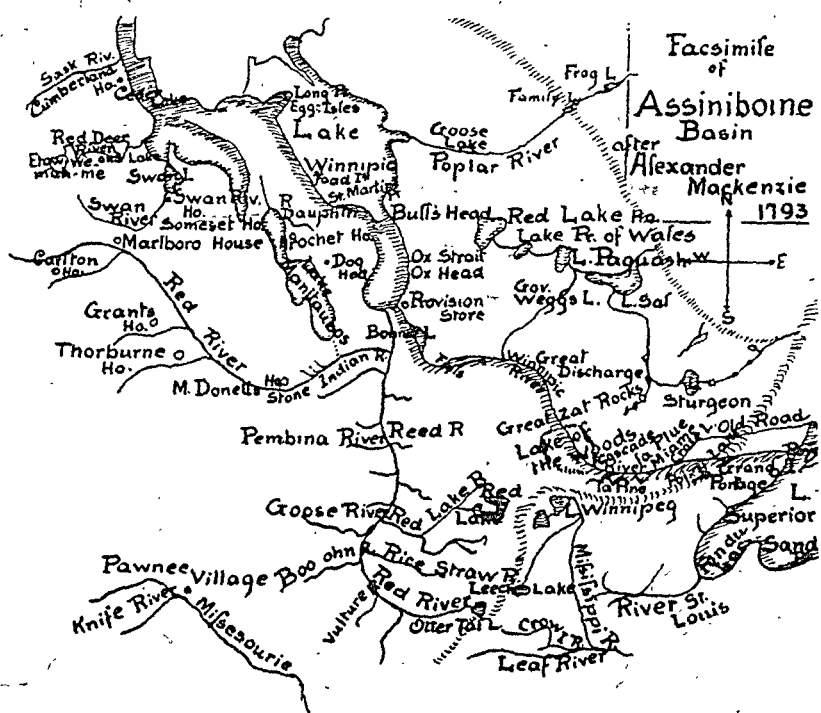
Courtesy of A. S. Barnes & Co. N.Y.

CHART XII

A portion of a map of North America showing Assiniboine Basin. Drawn
originally by Alexander Mackenzie, 1801.

Thompson's party set out from Assiniboine House at 9.30 a.m., Tuesday, November 28, 1797. Ash House, near Hartney, Manitoba, was reached December 7, Willow River, December 16, and Missouri River, December 29, 1797. The time of the year was not ideal. Zero and sub zero weather dogged their footsteps for the 300 odd miles. When they arrived they found Hudson's Bay men had been there previous to their arrival. After a stay of about ten days with the tribe, the return journey was commenced at 8.30 a.m., January 10, 1798. Heading north, they came to a tributary of the Souris. They next came to the west end of the Turtle Mountains, and to Ash House.[1] Thence they came to Assiniboine House. They arrived at 10.30 a.m., Saturday, February 3, 1798. Twenty-three days later, on February 26, 1798, Thompson, having written up his notes and edited his maps, set out via the Glenboro "sand hills," then called the Manitou Hills, and later by Alex. Henry "Mantagne du Diable," the "Hills of the Devil," for the "forks" of the Red and Assiniboine. Making calculations at every opportune time, he reached Pembina House, south of the present site of Emerson, about March 4, 1798. There he found the fort was 48°, 58', 24" north latitude, i.e., in American territory.

We are not concerned here with the immediate wanderings of this great explorer. His name has been introduced as a visitor to our forts. Too little is known about the surveyor of the Saskatchewan Rivers and the discoverer of the sources of the Columbia. Too little is known about the great man who gave his name to a great river. Brandon can well be proud that for slightly over two months he called Assiniboine House—home. He, it was, who in his day could point to a "map of the North West territory of the Province of Canada" and state that it was made by himself from "Actual Survey during the years 1792-1812." David Thompson, of Thompson River and one-time resident of Assiniboine House, died in 1857.[2]

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[1] Near Hartney, Manitoba.
[2] For portion of Thompson's map see inside front cover.

CHAPTER VIII

ALEXANDER HENRY—FUR TRADER DIARIST

(Born —, died 1814)

AMONG THE important visitors to the Assiniboine basin was a gentleman named Alexander Henry, who visited the Brandon forts in the summer of 1806. There were two fur traders of this name. The "Elder" Alexander whose "Travels and Explorations in Canada 1760-1776" were published in New York in 1809, was the uncle of the trader mentioned here. Alexander Henry "Junior" is important in the history of the Upper Red River, as the Assiniboine area was then called, not because he was a good fur factor for the North West Company, but because he kept a diary in which he noted the places and events which formed the background of his career.

The Diary

Coues, who edited the "Coventry copy" of this diary, has divided it into three parts. Part I, "The Red River Valley," deals with the years from 1799-1808. Part II, deals with Henry's life on the Saskatchewan River and in British Columbia. Part III, contains an index and map. The volumes, which are as interesting as Pepy's Diary, are liberally annotated by notes compiled from the works of David Thompson, and the map is a facsimile copy of Thompson's Map of the West. We are especially interested in the Red River Valley section.

Alexander Henry set out from Montreal for Grand Portage on the western shores of Lake Superior in 1799. After an interesting voyage in canoes of the northern brigade through the chain of lakes and Winnipeg River we find him making his way down the waters of the Red River to Pembina where he erected a Fort Pembina, as he thought in Canadian, but actually in American territory. The year was 1800-1801.

Henry traded over Manitoba, Minnesota and North Dakota. He came in contact with every type of Indian. He

regarded them all as "necessary nuisances." Coues[1] says that Henry was:

> "Engaged in the humble routine of traffic with the Indians whom he cheated and debauched, as a matter of course, with assiduity and success, upon strict business principle, and after the most approved methods."

After about six years of this life, the fur trader evidently desired a holiday. It may have been that he had heard of the interesting life of the Mandans from David Thompson's gossip, or perhaps he desired to combine a holiday with business. . . . At any rate, we find him setting out on horseback on July 7, 1806, from his fort at Pembina for the head waters of the Missouri. The trip which was via Fort La Souris will always be interesting to dwellers in the Assiniboine, because Henry was a keen observer and his comments are acute and perspicacious. We give a very few brief extracts to show the route and the places he passed through. What was then a vast solitude is now populated.

HENRY'S TRIP TO THE MANDANS

> "*Monday, July 7, 1806.* Set out with Joseph Ducharme and Michael Frocier and Cousin William Henry. The latter was going to Portage for tobacco. Met old Necklace (an Indian) at Grand Marais going to the fort with a load of dried provisions. Cross Rivière auv Marais. Came to Plumb River at 2 p.m. Rivière aux Gratias at 3 p.m., Saulteur Camp of nine cabins on north side of river in plains "at the Forks."
>
> *July 8th.* Came to Rivière Sale. 9 a.m. breeze scatters mosquitoes. 11 a.m. swam across River Sale. 4 p.m. reached Assiniboine at Grand Passage, in St. Charles parish—three leagues above Forks. Rafted over to north side. 8 p.m. camped at White Horse Plains."

It took Henry two days to travel from the latter place, which is now called St. Francois Xavier, to Portage la Prairie. On the way he visited Lac Plat or Shoal Lake and Raft Lake, now Long Lake, near Reaburn station on the C.P.R. He noted Adhemar's Fort which was "six" miles by land and one day by stream, from his immediate destination, which was the North West Company fort at Portage la Prairie. Adhemar's fort was at High Bluff.

The country through which Henry was passing must have interested him. Fort la Reine, La Vérendrye's first temporary abode, was erected in October, 1738, and very likely was used for that winter. It was burned by the Crees in 1752. La

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[1]Coues, op. cit.

Vérendrye very probably built a Fort de la Reine closer to the modern Portage la Prairie, in 1739.

On July 11, at 9 a.m., Henry passed Fort de Tremble or Aspen Fort. It was on the south bank of the river, five miles west of Portage la Prairie. Then came La Grande Tremblière Forest. By 4 p.m. he had reached Rivière du Milieu, now known as Middle Brook. Having clambered over its steep sides, he camped and only reached Pine Fort on the following day. At 2 p.m. he noted the Glenboro sand hills. He arrived in the evening at Brandon House No. 1, and was glad to have his opposition ferry him across the river to La Souris House, where a Mr. F. A. Larocque was in charge. For two days Henry rested, and then set out for the Mandans on July 14, 1806. In the group there were seven men and eight horses. Included in the party were Messrs. Chaboillez, Angus McDonald, T. Viandrie, Joseph Ducharme, Hugh McCracken, an old Irishman formerly belonging to the artillery; a Saulteur lad—Pautchauconce (Chabouillez's brother-in-law) and Henry himself. The trip was not monotonous. The Assiniboines were not unlikely to steal the horses, and other Indians were not unlikely to murder them. They noticed on the way, Rivière St. Peter, called by Thompson the Rapid River, and now called the Minnedosa. They passed Ash Fort (Fort de la Frènier) near Hartney. Other places were touched, e.g., Snake Hill, and Turtle Mountain. The latter could be viewed in the east, twenty miles away. Heading south of Estevan they came, on July 17, to the Coteau de Missouri, a range of hills which separates the watersheds of the Missouri and the Souris. On July 19, 1806, five days after their departure from La Souris House, the party arrived at the main Mandan Village on the north side of the Missouri River. In the following chapter we shall see what kind of people Henry found there.

THE MANDANS

The Missouri villages to which Henry and the preceding
explorers had come were unique among the Indian peoples.
The first inhabitants of North America were nomadic in
their life and customs. The Mandans were, however, a people
who liked to live in villages, remaining there all the time.
In this trait they differed from their neighbours, the Big
Bellies or Willow Indians, who wintered in the south and
moved to their villages in the north for the summer.

A Mandan village was a collection of huts surrounding a
square, which was about the size of a city block. The first
houses built were arranged in regular order with a space of
about thirty feet between them. Subsequent houses were
constructed at haphazard distances in close proximity to
one's neighbours or friends. Sometimes only a few feet re-
mained between such structures. Sometimes a hut was
vacated or built elsewhere in the village, as one found one's
neighbours sociable or otherwise. Tribes, however, while
they might move to another village, did not move to another
tribe. David Thompson noted that on his visit to the Man-
dans there were five villages, 318 houses, and seven tents.
The Upper Fall Indians had thirty-one houses and seven
tents. The Lower Fall people had eighty-two houses. A third
village had fifty-two houses, of which thirty-seven were Man-
dan and fifteen Fall Indian. A fourth village had forty houses,
across river. A fifth, the principal village, 113 houses.

A Mandan Home

The houses, as described by Henry, were very similar in
form, appearance and structure. First the builders erected in
a circle posts about six feet above the ground, and eight feet
apart. The top of each of these posts was joined by stout
beams till the circle was completed. Leaning from the ground
against the circular rail just mentioned, boards were placed
at a slight angle. This, when banked round by clay, com-
pleted the walls.

The floor of each hut, which might be fifty feet in circum-ference, was excavated to a depth of one and one-half feet. In the very centre was a square hole which was two feet below the general floor level. This was the fire place.

In the middle of the hut four extra big posts, almost tree trunks, were erected fifteen feet above the ground at the corner of a square. Their tops were joined by stout flat beams. Planks seven feet in length reached from the outside wall plate to these four beams. As they were on a slope they aided somewhat in draining off the rain water.

The square top of the building was filled in by cross beams at right angles to the top cross beams. Sufficient space was left in the centre for a smoke exit.

The whole roof was next thatched with willows in bundles six inches thick and fastened together. The whole was cov-ered over with clay to a depth of an inch.

The Interior of a Mandan Hut

The general structure of these huts was the same. Their size varied. Henry tells us that he found that his hut was ninety feet from the door to the opposite wall. The door of the hut was a buffalo robe stretched on a frame. It could be raised or lowered by a string from the lintel. It was kept closed by a pole which was held between upright posts and the wall posts.

On entering a hut one noticed the fire place in the centre. Seated to the left on a couch about five feet from the fire was the chief and his friends. At his back was a large triangular structure of planks well caulked to keep out the cold blasts when the door was opened. On the chief's left were the beds of his wives in order of precedence. Directly across the fire from him was his "Medicine chest" containing his buffalo heads, his scalps, his instruments of war, etc. On his right, still across the fire from the chief was the wood pile. On his far left and sunk into the ground was a clay "churn" and a club which were used like a pestle and mortor to crush grain, flesh and corn. The space between the door and the fire was filled at night by the horses. Henry thought these animals were odoriferous and was not quite in love with the idea.

Outside the door of each hut was a large frame or stage. This was used in the fall to dry squash and corn. The Gros Ventre or Willow Indians excavated the ground underneath this frame and used it as a stable for their horses. These Indians also excavated the interior of their houses to a depth of about four feet instead of one and a half feet which was the customary Mandan depth.

Life Among the Mandans

Life among the Assiniboines has been described as one series of quarrels about women and horses. In this respect life among the Mandans was very similar except that in the interval this tribe cultivated large crops of squash, pumpkins, corn, tobacco and beans. Their hoes were the shoulder blades of buffalo, but the energy of the Mandan women, guarded by Mandan braves, made up for the backwardness of the implements. Grain and corn were stored through the villages in holes in the ground, which had been excavated, and lined with straw. As the soil was sandy there was no reason why these storehouses could not preserve prodigious quantities of grain indefinitely.

The food of the villagers was corn and meat. Fresh meat was consumed practically raw, but the people much preferred stinking buffalo flesh. A special tidbit was a portion from a buffalo which was drowned in the river floods and caught as it floated past. Time and again Henry calls attention to the manner in which the tribesmen used to consume kidneys, the reproductive organs and the entrails of animals without any attempt to clean away the dung.

Social Habits

The Indians were children of nature—nature in a low sense, which could only see pleasure in very carnal and animal lusts. They were licentious with no sense of moral decorum. Henry, who was no prude, spends pages describing their lascivious conduct. He compares the Mandans with the Big Bellies, and others and even though the comments are strictures on all, the Mandans come off little the best. "The Big Bellies or Willow Indians are more licentious,

disagreeable, haughty, selfish, hypocritical, rascally than the Mandans. The Crows are given to unnatural beastly lusts." Mandans are "more tractable."

Dogs were found in great numbers among the Willow Indians. The children annoyed the visitors by their pesterings and thievish habits and were not inclined to call off the dogs which made it uncomfortable for the strangers. The Mandan children were evidently "good," and no dogs harried the visitors. All night long, however, the young men sat on the roofs yelling and yodeling or praising the lady of each one's choice.

A white buffalo skin was considered a great prize among these so-called "White Indians." It is interesting to read their method of selling this prized object. The vendor erected two forked sticks and placed a straight stick between the forks. Then he spread the skin over the cross arm with the tail hanging down. No words were spoken. The would-be purchaser next arrived with one horse. If this was not sufficient the seller gently shook the buffalo tail. The would-be buyer went away and secured another horse. Another shake of the tail indicated "not enough." Another horse was brought and the same performance was repeated five or six times. When the purchaser thought he had brought enough and still the tail was shaken, he brought small articles each time with the horses—a basket of corn, a string of beans, tobacco, etc. Then the bargain was completed. The buffalo robe was handed over to be cut into small pieces and handed round as good medicine. Although the Mandans were professed atheists their actions lead one to think that they had some idea of a Supreme Being.

The Chief of the Mandans was Le Borgne. Henry quit him and his followers of the Mandan, Bismark, St. Pierre, Knife River area,—the region immediately south of the Coteau de Missouri, in these words: (July 29, 1806) "We bade him (Le Borgne) farewell, and for my part I wished never to see this great man again, or any of his clan. I was heartily tired of them all, and much relieved by the prospect of travelling at my own free will and pleasure, no longer subject to the caprice of these mercenary savages." Seven days afterwards (to be precise, on August 9, 1806, at about 11.30

p.m.) Henry arrived at La Souris Fort. "Mr. La Rocque was in charge. The Indians were drinking." They were not so drunk, however, that one of them was incapable of mounting one of Henry's horses, and riding off stealthily into the night—to the great disgust of the aforementioned trader.

After a stay of two days, the diarist took his departure for his fort at Pembina. Travelling uncomfortably because of house flies, mosquitoes, and a deep Cypress River, not to mention the dangerous thievish tricks of wandering bands of Assiniboines, and the murderous habits of the Sioux, he arrived back at Pembina, August 25, in the evening, to find that in the meantime the Northern Brigade had just arrived from Grand Portage with trade goods and other useful articles. (Henry's return journey was by the Pembina River and the Pembina Hills).

CHAPTER X

JOHN MACDONELL—GALLANT GENTLEMAN

IN THE HISTORY of the Assiniboine River there are few more interesting characters than John Macdonell, the author of "The Red River," and of a "Journal," portions of which are found in L. R. Masson's "Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest" (1889). This big man, he was over six feet in height, was kind and lovable. He shows in his pages a sympathy with his men, and even with the poor Indians on whom few traders wasted kindnesses. John Macdonell was a brother of the more famous Miles Macdonell, the first Governor of Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony. He is listed as a "bourgeois" (manager) of the North West Company, after the fusion in 1804, but when we first meet him in his "journal," about 1793, he was just a commis, or clerk, working at Fort *qui appelle,* belonging to the North West Company. There are so many interesting things in the diary that it is very hard to make a selection.

On November 6, 1793, he notes that:

"Mr. Grant hired Robert Taylor for sixty dollars a month for the winter, to write for Old Auge at River La Souris, alongside with Ronald Cameron, and where we have since learned Mr. D. McKay with his Hudson's Bay boats and canoes is also."

Evidently "Old Auge" was a good-trader but poor bookkeeper. John Macdonell was a reader. He sent Mr. Peter Grant, a "Town and County Magazine of 90" (1790). Not a bad action for a clerk 150 years ago in the wilds. He always notes the human incidents:

(October 28, 1793) "Le Pere du Grimaceau (Indian) arrived about noon. It is now cold weather, certainly, but this man came to the fort without anything upon his body but a single pair of shoes upon his feet; the rest of his body was as bare naked as when he was born, and he shivered like a leaf with cold; he had come about two miles in this state, through an open plain."

About May 1, 1794, this bourgeois set out from the Fort qui appelle with Mr. Grant, and passed the Rapid River on

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the sixth, noticing "400 dead buffalo in the river. They lay on almost every point, huddled together. Arrived at Auge's River La Souris Fort: sun an hour high." While at the fort John took down the complaints of Auge about Donald McKay (H.B.Co.) and left that place Saturday, May 10, 1794. He is quick to notice that "Poor old Jos. Duchesne alias Piruguelon cried for sorrow at parting with Mr. Grant" at Pine Fort, which was abandoned that year.

When the party returned from Grand Portage, whither they were bound, we find Macdonell calmly writing in his journal at Fort qui appelle (he always writes it so . . . "Pulled the potatoes—only nine bushels." March 26, 1795, has the laconic entry: "Le Grande Diable went away after making me a tender of his wife's favors and seemed surprised and chagrined at my refusal, but the lady much more so, and I thought it prudent to make her some trifling presents to pacify her."

May 18, 1795, a Monday.

"The Brigade and I left the Forks of the River qui appelle about sunrise say: nine canoes and three boats, well loaded. My canoe having an extra man, I took the lead, intending to have spare time to hunt and prepare for the arrival of other crafts at Mountain à la Bosse. Observing a good many carcasses of buffaloes in the river and along its banks, I was taken up the whole day with counting them, and, to my surprise found I had numbered when we put up at night 7,360 drowned and mired along the river and in it. It is true in one or two places, I went on shore and walked from one carcass to the other, where they lay three to five files deep."[1]

May 21, 1795. The next entry sounds like a holiday trip:

"Overtook Messrs. Grant and Geo. McKay's canoe ashore—breakfasting among the fine oak groves above the Rapid River where they had slept, shifted and shaved. Arrived with them at Fort River La Souris. There were *five* different oppositions built here last winter all working against one another."

John Macdonell evidently became a "bourgeois" or shareholder about 1796. He remained in the Northwest till 1815. Why did he leave the country-side that he loved? Was it because his brother, Miles, was the Governor of the Red River settlement and hence the leading man of the Hudson's Bay Company, his opposition? It seems likely that he might desire to avoid embarrassing his brother. "The Pemmican War" was in the foreground. John was a Northwester.

[1]Masson, 1889, p. 294.

Mr. Macdonell died at Pointe Fortune, Quebec, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery at Rigaud.[1] All his children died without issue, but he had many nephews and nieces. One of the former, Mr. W. J. Macdonell, was vice-consul of France in Toronto, about 1886.

[1]Coues, NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GREATER NORTHWEST. HENRY THOMPSON JOURNALS. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897, p. 40, footnote.

CHAPTER XI

BRANDON HOUSE No. 3

ALL THINGS have an end. It was not otherwise with the forts of the Souris River mouth. How the end came about is discussed in this chapter.

About 1821 the traders of the North West Company, which was not a real company but a co-operative, formed for a definite period, began to find their profits decreasing as furs became scarce, and the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company became more alert under the business genius of Sir George Simpson (1787-1860). The outcome of this tradewar was an amalgamation of holdings. The result of the union on March 21, 1821, was that "oppositions" closed or posts were combined. Governor Simpson, writing at York Factory on August 10, 1832, outlines the situation at Souris mouth at that particular time and for several years previously. Here are his words:

"Previous to the coalition of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies there were three establishments maintained on the upper parts of Red River (Assiniboine), say Brandon House, Q'Appelle and Hibernia. But in the year 1824, it was found that the trade of Brandon House and Q'Appelle could not, in marketable produce, be made to defray the heavy expenses of these establishments altho' they shewed a nominal profit by the quantity of buffalo, undressed hides, and provisions for which they took credit, altho' we had no use for such articles. The country, moreover, being exceedingly poor in fur bearing animals, having been over wrought during the opposition, it was considered advisable to allow it to recruit. With the view therefore of saving the expense occasioned by those establishments and of recruiting the country the posts of Brandon House and Q'Appelle were abandoned in the Spring of 1824, and in the autumn of the same year the establishment of Fort Pelly was formed on the site of the old post of Hibernia, for the accommodation of the Plain Crees and Saulteaux of that part of the country, who had removed to Q'Appelle, who would otherwise have suffered much by the abandonment of that establishment, and in order to lighten the expense of Fort Pelly it was intended that it should only be maintained during the winter as little or no benefit could arise from its being occupied throughout the summer."[1]

"The District of Upper Red River (Assiniboine) was thus left unoccupied from the spring of 1824 until the autumn of 1828, when it was considered expedient to re-occupy the post of Brandon House during the

[1]Records of the Hudson's Bay Company, London.

winter as a means of protecting the trade, otherwise the Indians would have taken their hunts to the nearest market, which was that afforded by our opponents, who had recently established themselves at Pembina and occupied the neighbourhood of the Pembina and Turtle Mountains by small parties."

The idea of building a third Brandon House was envisaged in correspondence between Governor Simpson at York Factory, July 10, 1828, and the London office of the Hudson's Bay Company:

"But as a protection for that frontier (i.e., the United States frontier) we consider it advisable to re-establish the post of Brandon House on the Assiniboine River about 120 miles above the settlement (i.e., the Red River Settlement) which will accordingly be done this autumn under the charge of Chief Trader Heron, with a complement of twelve men, who are to be selected from among the Freemen and Settlers of Red River and engaged for the winter months only, as it is intended merely for a temporary post and not to be maintained throughout the year."

Chief Heron gives us an account of how the site for Brandon House No. 3 was selected by him:

"At 10 a.m. I arrived at this station, accompanied by three men with horses and carts employed in transporting the outfit hither from Fort Garry. The place selected for the post is situated about twelve miles above old Brandon House. I was prevented from fixing upon the site of the establishment owing to the want of wood there. The situation chosen on the contrary possesses superior advantages on that score, being well stocked with timber of every description required at an establishment in these parts, an accommodation not everywhere to be found along this River (i.e., The Assiniboine River) arising from the repeated destructive fires to which it is exposed."

Heron continues:

"Our people, who proceeded me hither to forward the work, etc., by mistaking the instructions given them made some advancement in the way of buildings in a swamp about three miles below this, which I abandoned immediately on arrival as being entirely unfit for a fort in every respect."

Brandon House No. 3, whose site was marked by the Rotarian Club of Brandon, exactly one hundred years after its foundation, viz., October 28, 1928, was built on a high level plateau overlooking the river and Glen Souris. Its exact location is the northeast quarter of section 29, township 9, range 17, west of the principal meridian. It is about ten miles by direct line from Brandon. The outlines of the stockade, the gateposts and the four houses are still distinct. The gate was in the south. There are traces too of a chimney. From Governor Simpson's report of July 18, 1831, we learn of its gradual decline:

"The post of Brandon House has for the two last years been occupied both summer and winter (1829 and 1830), but its trade can no longer afford a summer establishment which was necessarily expensive from its exposure to the Mandal (Mandan) war parties: it has therefore been abandoned this spring, but will be re-established in the fall."

In 1832 the annual report of Governor Simpson surveys and concludes the forty-seven years of existence of the forts at the Souris mouth. It is only fitting that the last word in the struggle should be written by "The Great Company" which stood the heat and the burden of the day.

Governor Simpson's 1832 report on the last of the Brandon Houses:

"During the years 1828-29 and 1829-30, white rats continued numerous, that post (Brandon House) made very large returns, but since they have disappeared its trade has greatly fallen off, and now barely defray the expenses, and as the situation is dangerous, being exposed to attacks from the Fall Indians and Mandans of the Missouri, we have determined on abandoning it this season, and on establishing a small outpost or Guard House (which will be attended with little expense) at Portage la Prairie, in its stead, attached to the experimental farm under the superintendence of Chief Factor McMillan, for the purpose of watching the trade of the Saulteaux who usually hunt about the Pembina and Turtle Mountains.

"Qu'Appelle remained unoccupied all this while as the two establishments of Brandon House and Fort Pelly were considered sufficient to meet the wants and collect the hunts of all the Indians belonging to the upper parts of the Red River (Assiniboine), but in the course of the autumn of 1830 we discovered that the American Fur Company had formed an establishment at the forks of the Missouri and Yellow Stone Rivers, which does not exceed 300 miles distant from Qu'Appelle, that they had sent two parties across to trade with the Indians of that neighbourhood, and that the Assiniboines had attached themselves to their establishments. The favourable receptions which the Assiniboines experienced from our opponents induced some of the plain Crees belonging to the upper parts of the Red River (Assinibone) to follow their example, but both tribes felt that they were not on their own lands, and that they would run the risk of becoming involved in difficulties with the Crow, Mountain, Fall and other tribes who resort to that part of the country, and we learnt from several intelligent Indians who knew their sentiments that they would be likely to return to their own lands if a post were established by us for their accommodation. With the view, therefore, of depriving our opponents of a branch of trade in buffalo robes which they derived from the Assiniboines, and of securing to ourselves the few furs which are still to be collected in that part of the district, we determined in council last summer on re-occupying that country by a post (called Fort Ellice[1] in honour of a Director of that name) which was established last fall (1831), and has done fully as well as we had reason

[1] Edward Ellice, Deputy-Governor of H.B.Co., 1856-1863.

to hope, and altho' it has not yet withdrawn the Assiniboines from the Missouri, we expect that they will join us in the course of the present year."

FORT ELLICE

When Brandon House No. 3 was closed, it was necessary for the Hudson's Bay Company to open a trading post higher up the Assiniboine River. The new post, which was in the Swan River district, was opened in 1831.

Fort Ellice in 1874. . . . From "The Beaver," June, 1940.

Fort Ellice, as the new trading centre was named, was situated one-half mile east, and two and one-half miles south of St. Lazare, on the Canadian National Railway. It was on the right, or west bank of the Assiniboine, ten and one-half miles west, and one-half mile south of Birtle, in approximately 101° 17' west longitude, and 50° 20' north latitude. The contour map shows it at 1,500 feet above sea level and overlooking Beaver Creek on the south and the Assiniboine on the east. These detailed directions should help to correct the popular misconception that Fort Ellice is on the Qu'Appelle River.

The name Ellice was derived from the Right Honourable Edward Ellice, M.P. (1789-1863). In a sense, this man's life epitomizes the struggle for the fur trade in the West. Born in London, England, he had considerable investments in the Hudson's Bay Company. A life long parliamentarian, he became Secretary of the Treasury under Prime Minister Earl Grey, in 1830. Presumably because of his manipulations on

the stock exchange he was nicknamed "The Old Bear."
Ellice visited Canada in 1803 and soon became a director of
the North West Fur Company. He joined the XY or Sir
Alexander Mackenzie Company in 1805, and so seceded
from the original North West Company. He continued his
friendship with McGillivray, the head of the latter body. In
1820 and 1821 he was the prime mover in amalgamating all
the opposing fur companies.

The Earl of Southesk, after crossing the Assiniboine in a
scow, in 1859, pitched his tent close to Fort Ellice. He found
John Richard MacKay, whose father had been superintend-
ent there since the founding, in charge.

General Sir William Butler on his tour of exploration of
the Northwest thus describes Fort Ellice in "The Great Lone
Land."

"On Sunday morning the 30th of October (1870) we reached a high bank
overlooking a deep valley through which rolled the Assiniboine River. On
the opposite shore, 300 feet above the current, stood a few white houses
surrounded by a wooden palisade. Around, the country stretched away on
all sides in magnificent expanses. This was Fort Ellice, near the junction
of the Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine Rivers, 230 miles west from Fort Garry.
Fording the Assiniboine, which rolled its masses of ice swiftly against the
shoulder and neck of my horse, we climbed the steep hill and gained the
fort. I had ridden that distance in *five days and two hours.*"

In his report, March 1871, to the Manitoba Government
on the conditions of animal life on the prairies, General
Butler has this to say:

"It is scarcely twelve years since Fort Ellice, on the Assiniboine River,
formed one of the principal posts of supply for the Hudson's Bay Company
. . . nor is this absence of animal life confined to the plains of the
Qu'Appelle and the Upper Assiniboine. All along the North Saskatchewan
the same scarcity prevails, I would state that during the present winter, I
have traversed the plains from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains
without seeing even one solitary animal upon 1,200 miles of prairies."

As in later days, the river steamers used to go up to Fort
Ellice, past Brandon, from Winnipeg, it is interesting to read
the impressions of Edward John Beresford Groome, an Irish-
man who arrived in Canada, April 28, 1881. The letter from
which the quotation is taken is addressed to William Carpen-
dale, a cousin in Ireland, and is dated December 2, 1881.

"On the way home (to Little Souris from a haymaking trip) we went
into Fort Ellice. About ten miles of the land west of it is a beautiful prairie.
The town has got a Hudson's Bay Store and a few other stores but the

police barracks is moved as on *the first of last July* the Province of Manitoba was extended that far and Mounted Police are only stationed through a territory. The railroad line runs twelve miles south of Fort Ellice"

Today Fort Ellice is but a Hudson's Bay Company reserve. Its glory has departed. A bell placed nearby commemorates the site. Once a year it summons the dwellers on the plain to a picnic in these pleasant surroundings.

CHAPTER XII

THE HALF-BREED

OFTEN MET with in the history of the Assiniboine basin is the half-breed native, the first outcome of the union of Frenchman or Scot or Englishman, with an Indian mother. We are not here concerned with the moral question of whites marrying Indians. It was often a matter of good business, the white who did so received the protection of the female's tribe. The Indian woman received prestige and became a valuable adjunct to any menage because she was not only a companion but she did invaluable services for her lord by preparing the skins, cooking the meals and the innumerable things which only a woman can do. At times, even on the trail, she was nearly a beast of burden. The offspring of these marriages has often been held up to ridicule. This has been unfair. The men were a hardy, rough, honest lot. The women were natives but yet as deserving of honour as anyone could be, till they were debauched by the white traders, high wines and rum. If the offspring was of a French strain there has been a more or less note of contempt injected because after 1760 the French were ousted as the predominant race; and if the strain was Scottish the idea was to view the result more favourably partly because there was a desire to justify the more or less degrading step of a Scot marrying an Indian. The best method of studying the half-breed is to find out what men of a judicial mind, who actually came in contact with the more or less unspoiled person, thought of him. With this purpose we now introduce the Earl of Southesk, a Scottish lord who in his book "Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains,"[1] published in 1875, makes us acquainted with his views on the half-breeds he met in the Red River area on a trip here in 1859 and 1860. Here is Southesk's description of James McKay, the first half-breed he met:

"His appearance greatly interested me, both from his own personal advantages, and because he was the first Red River man that I had yet beheld. A Scotsman though, with Indian blood on the mother's side, he was

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[1] Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, Edinburgh: James Campbell & Co.

born and bred in the Saskatchewan country, but afterwards became a resident near Fort Garry and entered the Company's employ. . . . Immensely broad chested and muscular, though not tall, he weighed eighteen stone (252 pounds); yet in spite of his stoutness he was exceedingly hardy and active and a wonderful horseman. His face, somewhat Assyrian in type, is very handsome: short, delicate, acquiline nose, piercing dark grey eyes, long dark brown hair, beard and moustaches; white, small, regular teeth; skin tanned to red bronze from exposure to weather. He was dressed in Red River style—a blue 'capot' (hooded, frock coat) with brass buttons; red-and-black flannel shirt, which served also for waistcoat; black belt round the waist; buff leather moccasins on his feet; trousers of brown-and-white striped homemade woolen stuff."

Southesk did not find the habits of the half-breeds always suited his taste. On the way up the Assiniboine basin to Fort Ellice he confesses that he was weary of the half-breeds and their destructive ways. It appears that after a whiskey drinking spree these people used to cut down trees ruthlessly or disfigure them. They barked young poplars for their sap and shore spruces of all their lower branches leaving just a top-knot to keep the tree alive "so that it might bear some jovial voyageur's name whose "lob-stick" it had been created."

Yet Southesk, though he wishes at times to be rid of their company, admits that "it cheered one's spirits to see the hunters on their march." They were very picturesque and "cart-tilts of every hue flashed in the sun" when they were on the hunt accompanied by their wives and daughters. Most of the women were of unmingled Indian blood. "Tall and angular, long masses of straight black hair fell over their backs; blue and white cotton gowns, shapeless, stayless, uncrinolined, displayed the flatness of their unprojecting figures. Some wore a gaudy handkerchief on the head, the married bound one across the bosom."

In 1859 labour was scarce. The native-born inhabitants, especially those with a French strain, preferred to be voyageurs to undertaking continuous farm work. A voyageur's efforts were of short duration, and after the toils were over one had but to eat, drink, smoke and be merry—"all of them acts, in which" as Southesk says "he (the half-breed) greatly excells."

The English and Scottish half-breed differed from those of French origin in both looks and character. The former had

fair hair and the physical and moral characteristics of their northern ancestors. The latter more like the southern in physical appearance and like that race given to passion and caprice. Southesk continues:

"I cannot think so ill of the half-breed population as most writers appear to do. Physically they are a fine race, tall, straight, and well proportioned, lightly formed but strong, and extremely active and enduring. Their chests, shoulders and waists are of that symmetrical shape so seldom found among the broad-waisted short-necked English, or the flat-chested, long-necked Scotch; their legs are generally extremely straight, and of those lengthened proportions which when caricatured, tend rather towards the knock-knee than approach the bow. The feet are high in the instep; and the long heel with large back-sinew, high outwards—expanding calf, and large knee, which accompany a flat foot are, I think, never to be seen among them, nor indeed among the pure Indians."

The half-breed was swarthy of countenance, with dark eyes and hair. The name *bois-brûlé*, burned wood, conveyed an idea of his colouring. His features were regular, and there was nothing of the baboon jaw about him. His countenance was generally moody and signified meditation mixed with impulse.

The Red River half-breeds were anything but barbarians. They were neither imperfectly clothed or grotesquely ornamented. Their appearance and dress so little revealed their origin that Southesk doubted "if a half-breed, dressed and educated like an Englishman would seem at all remarkable in London society. They build and farm like other people, they go to church, and to courts of law, they recognize no chief (except when they elect a leader for their great hunting expeditions) and in all respects they are like civilized men, not more uneducated, immoral or disorderly than many communities in the Old World."

The half-breeds were not generally nomads. They had two-roomed log cottages and farmed on a moderate scale. One of them at whose home the Earl of Southesk rested "lived with his family in apparent comfort and farmed on a moderate scale owning sixty head of cattle and cultivating a few acres of land."

This heterogeneous mass was the nucleus from which was to arise in the course of a few years a virile race and a new province.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EXPLORATION OF HENRY YOULE HIND, M.A.

IN THE YEAR 1858 it was the desire of the Canadian Parliament to secure more information about the prairies, so at the behest of the Governor General an expedition, under the leadership of Henry Youle Hind, M.A., was sent westward from Toronto to make a topological and geological survey of Rupert's Land.

Some interesting items are given in this report. It opens with a comparison of the speed secured by the party on the trip and that attained by other expeditions. The Red River Expedition of 1857 was at Fort William, July 31, 1857, and reached Red River on September 4. It took thirty-four days on that portion of the road, or forty from Toronto. The Youle Hind Expedition left Grand Portage on Lake Superior, May 5, and reached the Stone Fort, June 2, 1858, twenty-eight days or thirty-four from Toronto. (Their baggage was 6,000 pounds.) The route Hind travelled was that of the old North West traders, Moose Lake, Fort Frances, and Fort Alexander. The daily progress in 1857 by the Kaministiquia Route was twenty-five miles, as against twenty-eight and a half miles in 1858.

The Youle Hind Expedition left Fort Garry for the west, June 9. The party consisted of fourteen individuals, four surveyors, six Cree half-breeds, a Red River native of Scotch descent, a Blackfoot half-breed, an Ojibway half-breed, and a French-Canadian. At least one person was added to the group en route as the report states they set out with thirteen. Their mode of conveyance was five Red River carts, a wagon of American manufacture, two canoes, camp equipage, instruments and provisions for three months. The provisions consisted of 1,000 pounds of flour, 400 pounds of pemmican, 1,000 rations of Crimean vegetables, a sheep, three hams, tea for three months, pickles, chocolates, one gallon of port wine, and one gallon of brandy. Each cart had 450 pounds of freight and weighed a mere 150 pounds. An ox was pur-

chased at White Horse Plains (St. Francois Xavier) in case they could find no buffalo for food.

The first project of the expedition was to examine the country between Fort Garry, the Souris mouth, Turtle Mountain and Fort Ellice. To do this the party was divided into two sections at Fort Garry, one section was sent to explore the Big Ridge from Stony Mountain to Portage la Prairie. (This route was later followed for a time by the C.P.R.) The main party followed the river westward. At first a canoe was used but owing to the strong current it was decided to travel by cart. "Heavy timber skirted the river."[1] On June 17, the two parties reunited at Portage la Prairie. Hind soon found that while the river was only timbered on the north at the bends or points of its course, there was deep forest on the south commencing thirty miles from Fort Garry, and covering the country westward for sixty miles with a depth varying from three to twenty-five miles; at some places it was fifteen miles deep. Buffalo hunters avoided it. Each day, between June 19 and June 25, a different place was reached. They were in order, the Bad Woods, Half Way Bank, Bear's Head Hill (Sand Dunes), Sand Hills and Pine Creek, one hundred and thirty miles from Fort Garry. They reached the Souris mouth, one hundred and forty-six miles from Fort Garry, on June 24, at 5.40 a.m. The party was in constant fear of the Sioux. After the party swam the horses across the river and ferried the baggage in canoes, the carts and wagons were towed over. A camp was made on the left bank of the river, four miles from the mouth. Hind kept adding details to the David Thompson map which the party used. East of the Souris there was a row of hills which he named the "Blue Hills" of Souris and those on the west seem to be named for the first time "The Blue Hills of Brandon." The date was, June 25, 1858. The "Herbage was rich, the scenery wild and picturesque."[2] A thorough examination was made of the country on the left or western bank of the Souris as the party headed for Turtle Mountain. There was plenty of wood and water. On July 1, 1858, there is an interesting item:

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[1] Youle Hind, op. cit. p. 135.
[2] Youle Hind, op. cit. p. 136.

"Halted for dinner at an old log-house on the banks of the Souris—a winter trading post of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company."[1]

This post was thirty miles from the Souris mouth. It was located on a line drawn between Lauder and Napinka, but on the river bank.

On June 29, at a distance of 207.93 miles from Fort Garry, a first mention is made of scattered lignite coal with which the party made fires. (No lignite coal was found *in situ* on the Souris River north of 49° N.) They had just crossed Snake or Plum Creek. The party next continued to Turtle Mountain. Leaving the latter district on July 4, they spent till July 11 wending their way to Fort Ellice.

The grasshopper plague was very widespread, in 1858, in the area from the Souris to Fort Ellice.

"Cloud after cloud would rise from the prairie and pursue their course in the direction of the wind." "The air was filled as with flakes of snow." They cast a "glimmering silver light." "Lying on my back," states Hind, "I saw the sky continually changing colour from blue to silver white, ash gray and lead colour. They produced a ringing in one's ears. The grass was cut uniformly to an inch from the ground."[2]

Buffalo

Each year a buffalo hunt was organized. The hunters left Fort Garry about June 15, and remained out till the middle or end of August. One part of the hunters left the fort and headed south to Pembina, the other section headed west to White Horse Plains. Ross, in his report on "The Red River Settlement, its rise, progress, and present state" (London, 1856) gives the following facts regarding the hunt: In 1820 the number of carts assembled for the hunt were 540. In 1825 the number had risen to 680. Five years later they had increased to 820. In 1835, 970 started out, and by 1840 the number was 1,210. Hind does not state the number assembling in 1858. With an eye to the future cross breeding of buffalo and cattle he mentions that the half-breed heifer of either the cow or the buffalo was productive but the bull offspring was not. The buffalo encountered by the expedition were few and far between. Two solitary bulls postponed the day of execution for the ox. When, however, the party moved

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[1] Youle Hind, op. cit., p. 136.
[2] Hind, op. cit., p. 44.

to the Qu'Appelle River area, the buffalo steaks were more plentiful.

In the early part of the fall of 1858, Hind's party began to move eastward after an examination of the basin of the Saskatchewan River. A shrewd remark on the probable use of the Minnedosa River is worth quoting. "It will probably become important as a means of conveying to the settlements on the Assiniboine and Red River supplies of lumber from its valley and the Riding Mountain." John and Dougald McVicar[1] found this true in 1879 when they sought logs in the Riding Mountain for their cabins in Grand Valley, and John Hanbury, one of Brandon's pioneer lumbermen, rafted many logs thence to feed his saw mills.

Manitoba House

On the west side of Lake Manitoba, just north of parallel 51°N. and across the lake from Oak Point there was founded (in 1848) a Roman Catholic Mission to the Indians. The house was at "The Narrows" of the lake. This church property was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company previous to 1858. When Youle Hind arrived there, October 16, 1858, he found the trading post in charge of a Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie. Hind remained one week. In his notes written at this point he comments briefly on the ravages of disease and war among the Indians. "Some twenty years before the smallpox and constant wars had reduced the Plain Cree Indians to one-sixth or one-eighth of their former numbers, 4,000 in 500 tents, at the present time they do not exceed 120 tents which represent 1,000 souls." This statement might well furnish an explanation of why the mission was closed, and opened as the Hudson's Bay Company "Manitoba House." Since the mission was opened at Oak Point on the east side of the lake, it indicates a tendency of the Indian population to head eastwards.

The report on "Fort Ellice to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, thence to Fort a la Corne and Red River" contains many references to Indians. One passage shows the diabolical savagery of the Redman, the other his dream of another world. Hind reported that when the Sioux took a

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[1]See below page 105 and following.

prisoner during the summer, they adopted a terrible method of execution. They stripped the prisoner, tied him to a stake on the borders of a marsh in the prairies, and left him there exposed to attack by millions of mosquitoes without any part of his body being able to move. When the agony of fever and the torment of thirst came upon the prisoner they left him to die a dreadful lingering death with water at his feet and buzzards hovering and circling round him in loathsome expectation.[1]

The other side of the savage was shown in his hopes of a future life. Heaven was a very real thing to the Indian of the plains. An elderly Cree on the Qu'Appelle furnished Hind with an Indian's dream of Heaven.

An Indian's Dream of Heaven

"I was sick and fell asleep. I awoke on the banks of a deep river, whose waters were flowing swiftly and black from a great mist on the south to a great mist on the north. Many other Indians sat on the banks of the river gazing at its waters and on the gloomy shore which lay wrapped in mist on the other side. Time after time the mist before us would roll away and reveal the mouth of another great river pouring its flood into one on whose banks I was sitting. The country to the south of this river was bright and glorious, to the north, dark and gloomy. On the one side were the happy hunting grounds, on the other, the hunting grounds of the bad Indians. Time after time my companions tried to cross the swift stream before us in order to reach the happy hunting grounds, some arrived in safety, others reached the north bank, and disappeared in the mist which overhung the bad country. I tried at last but the current was too strong for me and the recollection of bad deeds prevented me from stemming the current and I was swept to the north shore of the opposite river. I scrambled up the bank and spent many happy moons in hunting in that dreary land; always on the point of starving or being hurt by enemies or wet and cold or miserable. At length I came upon a river like the one I had crossed, with mists and a great stream opposite, breaking clouds revealing happy hunting ground on one side and a more gloomy terrible country on the other. I swam across against the stream. I reached the happy hunting grounds. All my sorrow disappeared as I climbed to the top of the bank and saw before me the Indians numerous as grass leaves, buffalo on the distant plains thick as rain drops in summer, a cloudless sky above and a warm fresh scented, happy breeze blowing my face. I sank to sleep and woke alone in my tent in these prairies again."[2]

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[1]Youle Hind, op. cit., p. 110.
[2]Youle Hind, op. cit., p. 111.

But the Indian was perverted by the whiteman. Rum warped his ideals. Christianity, which came without rum, was unwelcome.

"When Rev. James Settee arrived at the Mission last autumn the Crees of Sandy Hills having received intelligence that the bishop had sent a 'praying man' to teach them the truths of Christianity, directed messengers to enquire whether 'the great praying father had sent them plenty of rum,' if so they would soon become followers of the whiteman's Good Manitou. The messengers returned with the sad intelligence that the great praying father had not only omitted to send rum but he hoped the Plain Crees would soon abandon the practice of demanding rum in exchange for their pemmican and robes. The messengers were directed to return to the missionary with the announcement that 'if the great praying father did not intend to send rum the sooner he took his praying men away from the Qu'Appelle Lakes, the better for him."[1]

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[1] Youle Hind, op. cit., p. 49.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RED RIVER REBELLION
and
The Red River Expedition

So FAR in this book we have seen the Assiniboine basin explored by La Vérendrye, traversed by the fur traders, colonized by the Selkirk Settlers, and examined by Henry Youle Hind. All this was done either under the aegis of the Hudson's Bay Company or with that great Company hovering close at hand. We now come to that stage in the political development of the Basin when the Hudson's Bay Company is about to withdraw from its holdings, and a new nation is to endure the pangs of labour. This seems a convenient place to glance at the state of the settlements near the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine on the eve of new happenings.

From "Manitoba Milestones"
Courtesy of Dent & Co., Toronto.
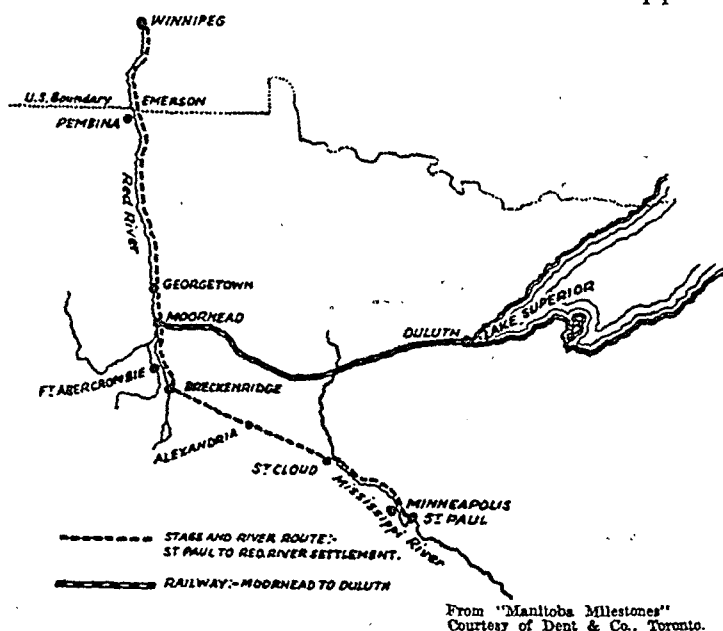
CHART XIII

Map shows route followed by Red River Cart Brigades from St. Cloud to Fort Garry. Steamers and South men fur traders came into the Basin by this route.

No population figures are available for 1869 but the census of 1870 supplies them. There were altogether 11,963 inhabitants made up as follows: 1,565 whites, 5,757 French half-breeds, 4,083 English half-breeds, and 558 Indians. The whites were sprung from a varied ancestry. There were 747 Northwesters. Canada had contributed 294, the British Isles 412, the United States 29, France 15, and 28 had diverse origins. As regards religion there were 5,176 Protestants and 6,247 Roman Catholics.

The Red River Settlement was in an isolated position. There were no telegraph, telephone or daily newspapers. St. Paul, with a population of 120,000 was the nearest city. The railway station at St. Cloud was the nearest important point. The best means of conveyance between Fort Garry and St. Paul was by Red River Cart Brigade—450 miles of laborious, tedious travel across the prairies. The carts were made entirely of wood. Iron, even for nails, was too costly. Apart from the cart route the only method of approaching the settlement was by the Kaministiquia River from Fort William, thence by Rainy River, and the Winnipeg River to Lake Winnipeg. The Dawson Road from the Lake of the Woods to Winnipeg was mostly a surveyor's dream. The routes that must be used were those of the voyageurs.

When considering the political allegiance of the inhabitants it is well to remember that it was close to 130 years since the first explorers had come, and the last large body of settlers had arrived over fifty-five years before. The original Selkirk Settlers would be over 70 years of age. Two, and almost three generations had sprung up who knew neither France nor Britain by actual contact. Their allegiance, if any, was to the Company, their Church and their Settlement. The concept of nationality, which is held in modern times, did not apply. The nearest approach to it in history would be the city states of ancient Greece. Whilst the cumulative effect of years and isolation was to destroy the concept of nationality, there were many factors which tended to retain allegiance to ancient loyalties; among these were language, literature, custom and church. Those who spoke the English language were many, but the mellifluent tongue of the Gael must have resounded in many a conclave. English, however,

was the language of the Company, and the tongue of business. Its powerful influence was buttressed by the bible, the only book in many homes. The speakers of French lived east of the Red and tended to retain their language and customs. There was no central educational system striving to unify. Communities were scattered. Interpreters were needed at the very infrequent meetings. The settlers were nominally English, Scotch, French, or American. In reality they were Red River Settlers.

About April, 1869, the news reached the Red River Settlement that the Government of the Dominion of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company, with the cognizance of the Government of Great Britain, decided that the Great Company should sell out its interests to the Dominion of Canada. The reaction of the settlers was not at first formulated, but later it was put into precise language:

"We, the representatives of the inhabitants of the Northwest, consider that the Imperial Government, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Government in stipulating for the transfer of the government to the Dominion Government, without first consulting or even notifying the people of such transfer, have entirely ignored our rights as people of the Northwest Territory."[1]

The settlers were by no means sunk in such political apathy that they were indifferent to their own future. Attempts had been made heretofore to establish new governments, e.g., Thomas Spence and The Republic at Portage la Prairie, and Dr. Schultz, ever ready to transfer the settlers to Canada from the tutelage of The Great Company. These attempts were strivings by the Red River inhabitants to arrange their own destiny. The agreement of March 1, 1869, between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Dominion of Canada was a "selling down the river" in which they were disposed of as mere chattels. It contained the ingredients of an explosion among men of both races who had a background of hardy independence. As the men of the gironde used to say: *"Nous sommes rustiques mais nous ne sommes pas rustres."*

The spark that lighted the fuse was the premature orders on September 18, 1868, of the Honourable William McDougall to John A. Snow to commence the construction of

[1]Report of the Council of the Provisional Government, March 15, 1870.

Chief Poundmaker

Lord Wolséley

Hon. Clifford Sifton

Louis Riel

Hon. Joseph Martin, Q.C.

Archbishop Tache
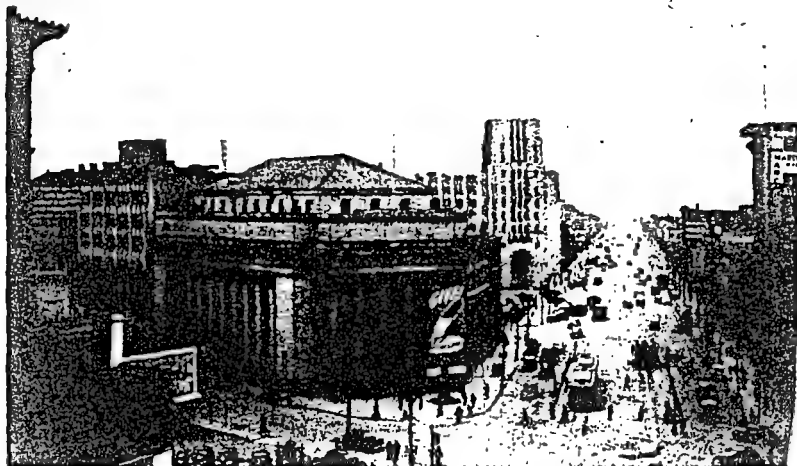
The marts of finance and a Federal Building about the trail once traversed by the fur traders. In the far background Upper Fort Garry lay athwart Winnipeg's Main Street. Half a mile separated the two villages —Winnipeg and Fort Garry.
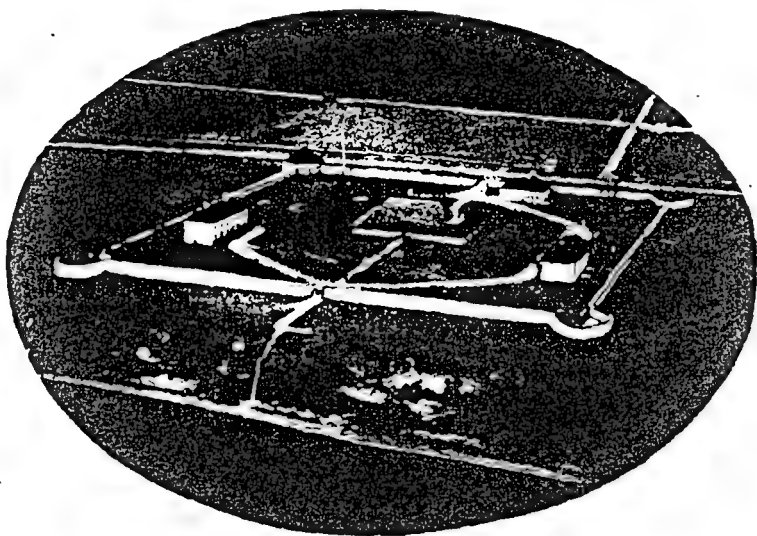
Lower Fort Garry—built by the Hudson's Bay Company. Colonel Wolseley and his officers supped here.

the Dawson Road from Fort Garry to the Lake of the Woods. Even Mr. McTavish, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and president of the council of Assiniboia, was not consulted. To make matters worse the Metis, bois-brûlé, or half-breeds, who were impoverished by a plague of grasshoppers, were not employed on the road-building. Canadians and Americans were brought in. To add insult to injury, letters criticizing the half-breeds were published in the Toronto Globe. The land over which the road was passing belonged to the Indians and Metis. Neither were consulted. It was simple confiscation. In some cases Snow descended to trading liquor with the Indians and shady land deals took place.

The second stage in the confiscation of the Northwest was the survey of the lands into section, township, and range, instead of the Peter Fidler survey of early days when each farm had a narrow frontage on the river, and ran back four miles. The inner two miles was partly cultivated. The outer two miles contained hay cutting privileges. No farmer likes to have his farm traversed by a stranger, but when the minions of Colonel Dennis, D.L.S., who was in charge of the survey, rode rough shod over his territory, the inhabitants of the Red River district who had wrested this land from its virgin state, with what difficulties can be imagined, were up in arms. The Great Company had abrogated its authority and the new government to which they had no allegiance, and which evidently cared little for their rights, was in Canada—nearly three month's travel distant.

There were numerous occasions where the surveyors of Colonel Dennis were warned to cease their surveys. One instance was that at Oak Point (Pointe des Chênes), another was on Andrew Nault's lands at St. Vital. Colonel Dennis had enough intuition to leave populated centres and make the unsettled districts round the first meridian, west of Pembina, the starting point for the survey. There he was not molested.

It is difficult to find out the consensus of opinion among the population of the Red River in 1869. Dr. Schultz and his weekly newspaper, the "North-Wester," were at one time in favour of annexation to the United States. This was the least strong party. The Canadians, including the French,

were in favour of union with Canada. Those who came from Ontario were so because they would strengthen ties with that province, whilst people from Quebec considered the possibilities of a home for the surplus *Les Canadiens* in the west rather than in New England.

The half-breed settlers felt they owned the Northwest Territories. They were hostile to the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk Settlers—regarding the former as a foreign power and the latter as intruders. They were beginning to feel the sense of nationhood and their semi-Indian brain was quick to take insult and show resentment when they were overlooked in the disposal of their destinies. Democracy in its gropings sought a leader. The nearest at hand was Louis Riel.

Riel was born in 1844, at St. Boniface, Manitoba. His father, in 1848, had led the half-breeds in their fight with the Hudson's Bay Company for free trade. His mother was a daughter of Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere. On her side he was pure French. On his father's side there was a slight strain of Indian blood. Louis was educated in a Jesuit school at Montreal, but at nineteen years of age he showed his assertiveness by leaving the college. In 1864 he returned to St. Boniface and worked for some time on the Red River Cart Brigades between Fort Garry and St. Paul. He was a farmer in St. Vital, a suburb of Winnipeg, in 1869, when he was elected secretary to a Metis Council at La Salle. John Bruce was president.

The Red River Rebellion might be said to have officially commenced with the arrival, on October 30, 1869, at Pembina, of Honourable William McDougall, Lieutenant-Governor designate. The Metis committee refused to permit him to enter the new province or to recognize his authority. Their warning was sent in a note dated October 21, 1869. In his difficulties, Mr. McDougall was hampered by the zeal of his friends and also by having to dwell at Pembina in United States territory.

Governor McTavish summoned the Council of Assiniboia. It met October 25, 1869. Louis Riel attended and promised to tell the Metis of the views of the council. It

UPPER FORT GARRY
IN 1876

THE FORT WAS DEMOLISHED TO PERMIT OF THE
STRAIGHTENING OF MAIN STREET (1881 TO 1884)

Upper Fort Garry in 1876. . . . From "The Honourable Company" by
Douglas MacKay. Copyright 1936. Used by special permission of
Mr. T. W. Leslie, N.Y.

passed a face-saving resolution in favour of the Lieutenant-
Governor being allowed to enter, and then it dissolved.

On November 6, 1869, Riel seized the *"North-Wester"*
and printed a notice on behalf of the president and repre-
sentatives of the French speaking population of Rupert's
Land, inviting to a council twelve representatives from the
English speaking settlements of St. John's, Headingly, St.
Mary's, St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, St. Clement's, St. Margaret's,
St. James, Kildonan, St. Peters and Winnipeg.

The meeting was to be held in Fort Garry on November
16, 1869. The English speaking representatives attended,
and the whole twenty-four councillors ignored a proclama-

tion of Governor McTavish ordering them to disperse. When this council was about to close its proceedings on November 17, Riel announced that he was considering the establishment of a Provisional Government. The council was adjourned to December 1. Riel carried out his threat to form a government. The newly formed Provisional Government seized, among others, Governor McTavish and money and supplies at Fort Garry. With the money the Secretary paid his soldiers, and with the supplies he fed them.

The Council of Rupert's Land reassembled on December 1, 1869. When a Bill of Rights was introduced, it was debated and agreed to as a basis on which the colonists' claims might be presented to the Dominion Government.

On that date also, Governor McDougall seems to have expected that his position as Lieutenant-Governor would be formally announced in a proclamation by the Dominion Government. Acting before he had received the formal notice, Mr. McDougall appointed Colonel Dennis to raise a force to preserve peace. The Colonel made Lower Fort Garry (near Selkirk, Manitoba) his headquarters, and appointed Major Boulton to enrol volunteers. There was a ready response at Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie, but the news soon arrived that the Dominion Government had issued no proclamation. The outcome was that Mr. McDougall's cause was injured and the Metis encouraged.

The Provisional Government's next action, on December 7, 1869, was the seizure of forty-three prisoners, including John Schultz. Riel justified his action in a "Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land and the Northwest" the gist of which declared that a provisional government was necessary as the people had been abandoned by the Great Company.

Three days later—December 10, 1869—Donald A. Smith, manager of the Hudson's Bay Company, was appointed by the Dominion Government Commissioner to settle the revolt. On December 27, 1869, Riel was raised by the Metis to the position of President of the Provisional Government.

A public meeting was held on January 19, 1870, inside Fort Garry. Almost 1,000 men came to hear Rupert's Land's proposals to Canada. The assembly of French and English

half-breeds, which was presided over by Louis Riel, represented all points of view. After credentials were examined it was addressed by Donald A. Smith. The outcome of the meeting was that a larger council consisting of twenty French delegates and twenty English, met to consider the Dominion proposals as outlined by Commissioner Smith. A new "List of Rights" was drawn up on February 5, 1870. Riel spoke in favour of the colony entering Confederation, not as a Territory but as a Province. Two days later Donald Smith gave his views on "The List of Rights." The Council concluded its deliberations by appointing Judge Black, Father J. N. Ritchot and Alfred H. Scott delegates to the Dominion Government at Ottawa.

The Council of Rupert's Land continued to hold sessions. At one held on February 9, 1870, it accepted the Provisional Government and confirmed Louis Riel as president. Its executive members were Louis Riel, Charles Nolin, James Ross, Thomas Bunn and Dr. Bird. The convention adjourned February 10, 1870.

All would now have been well were it not that the settlement at Portage la Prairie, not knowing about the conclusions reached by the government, sent an armed party under Major Boulton to rescue the prisoners kept by Riel in Fort Garry. The result was disastrous. John Sutherland was shot by a half-breed named Parisien, who in turn, died of wounds. On the advice of Major Boulton, who now knew the actions of the Council, the party was disbanded but Riel seized forty-seven of the disbanding volunteers as prisoners. Major Boulton was also put in prison.[1] As a result of the convention on February 12, 1870, Riel had released many prisoners but the action of Major Boulton resulted in more seizures. Riel seemed to have now reached the zenith of his power, but overcome by a desire to strike terror into his opponents he decided to shoot Thomas Scott, a prisoner from Portage la Prairie. A drum head court martial preceded the execution, but the act carried out on March 4, 1870, was generally regarded as murder. The act was disastrous for the future history of Canada. Scott had friends in Ontario. They insisted

[1]Vide A. Begg. History of North-West. Vol. I, 1894. Names of forty-six prisoners are given. One not named is identified by H. C. Ashdown as his father, J. H. Ashdown, pioneer merchant.

that the perpetrators of the deed should be brought to justice.

At this point in the events of the Red River Rebellion, a new figure arrived whose action was to go far to calm the troubled waters and lead to a conclusion of the imbroglio.

Bishop Tache, at the invitation of the Dominion Government, returned on March 8, 1870, to St. Boniface from Rome.[1] He addressed the Provisional Government on March 15, 1870, and urged harmony in the settlement. He spoke of the goodwill of the Dominion Government and so influenced Riel that he set Major Boulton and the other prisoners free. The Council then began once more to formulate a constitution for Manitoba. They adjourned on March 26, 1870. Judge Black, Father Ritchot and Mr. Alfred Scott reached Ottawa with Donald A. Smith in April. Riel continued to act as President of the Provisional Government, but from April 20 onward the Union Jack replaced the Fleur des Lys. Meantime, in Ottawa, negotiations were carried out so successfully that on May 2 Sir John Macdonald introduced the Manitoba Act in the House of Commons. The act was assented to May 12, 1870, and became effective July 15, 1870. Manitoba's people had asserted their rights and thenceforth their ideas were incorporated in the constitution of their province.

One outcome of the negotiations at Ottawa was that the half-breeds were granted 1,400,000 acres of land. Each head of a half-breed family received a patent to the farm he then held and to an additional 160 acres. Each child under eighteen years would, on the attainment of that age, receive a patent for 240 acres of land. Unfortunately the half-breed was no match for the land speculators who now came into the Basin, and they sold their holdings and claims (scrip) for a few cents on the dollar. Fifteen dollars cash might purchase a quarter-section. Bishop Tache and other friends of the Metis tried to get the Government to adopt a system of gradual ownership over three generations, but the officials at Ottawa were slow to learn. Nevertheless the insurrection had not been completely futile, the insurgents' claims to the lands of their fathers had been vindicated, and their ideas were, to a great extent, incorporated in the Manitoba Act.

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[1] Msgr. Tache was attending the Oecumenical Vatican Council, 1870.

The Red River Expedition

Before parliament had passed the Manitoba Act the Dominion and Imperial Governments had decided that a military force should be sent to the Red River to establish the new Government. This expedition, which was under the leadership of Colonel Garnet Wolseley, set out from Port Arthur[1] on May 24, 1870, and travelled to Fort Garry by the "Fur Trader's Route." It reached Winnipeg, August 24. The expedition which cost $2,000,000, consisted of 1,400 men and their food and equipment. It traversed 1,200 miles of wild and inaccessible country (see map facing page 94—Chart XIV). When it reached Winnipeg the half-breed occupants of Fort Garry and their leaders Riel, O'Donoghue, and Lepine, decamped.

The manner of their departure has often been taken as a comment on their personal bravery, it being taken that they ran away. Sir Richard Cartwright, the great liberal statesman, has, however, an opposite view. He says that they did not absolutely run away. They were not cowards.

"They were brave enough in an ordinary way. But it was only a further proof of the statement that they never would and never had intended to fight against the British Government, and the moment they found that a British force was coming against them they disbanded at once. Besides this, sundry of their original demands had been conceded and there was nothing very material at issue. . . . Riel had no alternative. His men would not fight the British troops, nor do I believe he ever intended to do so. He simply retired into the wilderness."[2]

[1]The feelings of the Ontario volunteers belonging to the Red River Expedition is shown in an extract from "Rough Times," page 66, by J. G. Tennant, 1920. Printer's name not given).
"Two weeks after the arrival of the Ontario Battalion the tragic death of Elzear Goulet occurred. It is an irreparable disgrace to all concerned. The Canada Hotel on Lombard St. . . . was kept by Marchaund, an American ex-soldier. The place was frequented by Ontario Volunteers. Some of them were drinking in this saloon on the 13th of September, when Goulet was pointed out by a person present, as the man who shot Scott. The men became furious, and eager for revenge. They rushed Goulet, who fled for his life to the Red River and plunged in to swim for the St. Boniface side. Fearing they would be baulked of their prey the frenzied mob in pursuit hurled missiles of all kinds at the hunted man and stoned him to death in the water. Goulet was a man of quiet disposition who fell a victim to circumstances."

[2]Reminiscences, Richard J. Cartwright, Messrs. Briggs, Toronto, 1912, p. 84, by permission of The Ryerson Press, Toronto.

THE NORTH SASKATCHEWAN REBELLION

DURING THE fifteen years after Riel had left Fort Garry the half-breeds who disliked encroaching civilization migrated with their Red River carts, cattle and household effects, 800 miles westward to the banks of the North Saskatchewan and South Saskatchewan Rivers. Here they once more introduced the Peter Fidler form of land survey. The tide of settlers continued to advance westward, and with it came the Canadian Pacific Railway, government surveyors, and more settlers. When the surveyors came to St. Laurent, near Prince Albert, they encountered the old land survey, and neither they nor the government having learned a great deal from the Red River Rebellion, the half-breeds began once more to be disturbed in their holdings. The Dominion Government appointed, early in 1885, a Commission to examine the difficulties of the situation. Its findings, which were just, were not publicized and it was inclined to hold back patents and scrip, and to encourage the new method of survey to the bewilderment of the inhabitants.

News travelled slowly in the Northwest in 1885. The Metis, not knowing the good intentions of the Government, sent a delegation to invite Louis Riel to leave his position as an Industrial School teacher in Montana and lead them against their tormentors. His letter of acceptance is dated, St. Peter's Mission, June 4, 1884. It is addressed to James Isbister, Gabriel Dumont, Moise Ouilette and Michael Dumais. Riel accompanied these delegates on their return trip to Saskatchewan.

The interval between June, 1884, and the spring of 1885 was spent in organizing the half-breeds and Indians of the Northwest for a revolt. Three localities became focal points of the insurrection, Prince Albert, Battleford and Fort Pitt.

The first overt acts took place near Prince Albert on March 18, 1885. The half-breeds began to pillage the stores at St. Laurent. Major Crozier, Commander of the Mounted Police, opposed the rebels, but he lost twelve men in an en-

BLACKFEET

CREES

Hudson Bay

Norway House

Fort Prince of Wales and Fort Churchill 1733-1782

Port Churchill

Massacre April 2, 1885
Frog Lake

VICTORIA May 21, 1885

EDMONTON May 5, 1885

Fort Pitt

Frenchman's Butte

Wainwright Buffalo Nat. Park

Red Deer

NIPAWIN Provincial Park

Wadkasiu

PRINCE ALBERT NAT. PARK

Cumberland Lake

The Pas

Saskatchewan River

Prince Albert May 11, Set

Cutknife May 2, 1885

North Saskatchewan River

North Battleford

Fort Carlton

Battleford

Duck Lake March 26, 1885 (Massacre)

Bordeaux's Crossing

Batoche Ferry (Riel H.Q) May 12, 1885

Fish Creek (April 24, 1885)

Fort a la Corne

Red Deer River

GREENWATER LAKE PROV. PARK

Archerwille

LAKE WINNIPEG

Lake Winnipegosis

Berens River

ALBERTA

BLOODS

SASKATCHEWAN

CREES

Clark's Crossing

SASKATOON

Humboldt

Quill Lake

Touchwood Hills

Swan River

Fort Pelly

Pelly

Duck Mtn Prov. Park

Kamsack

Togo

MANITOBA

Red Lake

PIEGANS

South Saskatchewan

Last Mountain Lake

Fort Carlton Trail

Ft Edmonton

Yorkton

Pelly Trail

ASSINIBOINS

RIDING MOUNTAIN NAT. PARK

Dauphin

Manitoba House

Dog Creek

Lake Manitoba

Oak Point

Ft. Alexander

Winnipeg River

Bow River

Medicine Hat

Swift Current April 13, 1885

Maple Creek

MOOSE JAW

Qu'Appelle Trail

South Qu'Appelle Trail

Qu'Appelle

REGINA

North Qu'Appelle River

Qu'Appelle March 23, 1885

Ft Ellice

Birtle

Shoal Lake

North Fr. Ellice Trail

Minnedosa

Gladstone

Kenora

SNAKES

Fort Walsh

Cypress Hills Prov. Park

John Lane Lake

Moose Mtn Trail

Assiniboine River

Rapid City

Middle (Fort Ellice)

BRANDON

Portage la Prairie

Fort la Reine

WINNIPEG

St Boniface

Selkirk

Lower Fort Garry

Seven Oaks

Fort Douglas

Fort Rouge

Beginning of Dominion Lands Survey

Weyburn

Moose Mtn Park

Carlyle

Virden

Souris River

Hartney

Lauder

Wawanesa

Glenboro

Fort Ellice River

Dawson Road

Oak Point

SNAKES

Wood Mountain Trail

Wood Mountain

Estevan

Napinka

Mandan Trail

Boissevain

International Peace Garden

Crystal City

Morden

La Jimeniere buried there 1750

Fort Pembina

Pembina

Sioux Trail to Lake of the Woods

Lake of the Woods

Hungry Hall Rainy River

MONTANA

NORTH DAKOTA

MINNESOTA

CHART XIV

SKETCH MAP

SHOWING

HISTORIC SITES and TRAILS

Indian Trails
Red River Expedition
North Saskatchewan Rebellion
General Middleton's Column
Colonel Otter's Column
General Strange's Column
Dawson Road

CHART XIV.

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counter at Duck Lake, on March 26. Finding his force too meagre, he retired from Fort Carlton to defend Prince Albert. Riel and his men then seized the fort.

The news of the massacre at Duck Lake soon spread abroad. Poundmaker, the Indian, decided to rise against the whites at Battleford, whilst Big Bear acted similarly at Fort Pitt. Poundmaker was aided in his shootings by a half-breed settlement, eighteen miles west of Battleford. No man's life or property was safe. At least two people were murdered.

The incidents of the rebellion round Fort Pitt followed a similar pattern, but they were more sanguinary. The Indians under Big Bear, another Indian Chief, murdered among others, the Indian Agent and two Catholic missionaries at Frog Lake, April 2, 1885. Inspector Dickens, son of the great novelist, was in charge of the Mounted Police at Fort Pitt, thirty miles distant. As his forces were too small he decided to retreat to Battleford. The insurrectionists then seized the fort. Thus far the Indians and half-breeds were victorious.

The massacre at Duck Lake had a beneficial result. It forced the Dominion Government to realize the seriousness of the situation, and it was decided to send an expeditionary force, under General Middleton, to quell the rebellion. The General arrived in Winnipeg on March 27, 1885. From that date matters were in capable hands.

General Middleton divided his force into three divisions. He, himself, decided to advance from Qu'Appelle against Riel and Dumont, at Batoche. Lieutenant-Colonel Otter, advancing from Swift Current, was sent to quell Poundmaker at Battleford. General Strange, advancing from Calgary, was to suppress the rising at Fort Pitt. The routes traversed by each general are outlined on Chart XIV, facing page 94.

On April 24, 1885, General Middleton, on his way to capture Batoche, the rebel headquarters, met his opponents at Fish Creek where a battle took place. The rebels were defeated. Louis Riel, their leader, surrendered. General Middleton next advanced to Prince Albert on his way to meet his other generals. Lieutenant-Colonel Otter came north from Swift Current. He encountered Poundmaker and his braves at Cut Knife Creek on May 2, 1885. The Indians retreated and later on, about May 24, surrendered to General Middleton at Battleford.

Whilst General Middleton and Lieutenant-Colonel Otter were suppressing the rebels at Prince Albert and Battleford, General Strange was advancing from Calgary to Fort Pitt, which was reached May 24, 1885. The enemy was discovered at Little Red Deer River near Frenchman's Butte. A skirmish took place but since General Strange was uncertain as to the strength of the enemy, he decided to await at Fort Pitt the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Otter and General Middleton. In the meantime Big Bear and his tribe fled north among the lakes and swamps. Some time was spent in pursuit of the chief but he eluded his pursuers and before the end of May, 1885, he surrendered to the Mounted Police at Fort Carlton.

This concluded hostilities. Louis Riel was executed at Regina jail November 16, 1885. Some Indians were hanged for various murders, others including Poundmaker and Big Bear were imprisoned for different terms.

Some time later the half-breeds of Saskatchewan were given the same land grants as were agreed upon in Manitoba, but a horde of land speculators followed the commissioners, and the simple aboriginal once more sold his rights for a few cents on the dollar. Thenceforth his place was very subsidiary in the economy of the west.

One cannot but feel a twinge of nostalgia that the men whose parents had wrested the Assiniboine basin from mother nature should thus be reduced to a very insignificant position in their motherland, but it has ever been thus with all aboriginal peoples, and as long as the whiteman is so constituted it will ever be so.

CHAPTER XVI

EARLY SETTLEMENTS AND RAILWAYS

A REVIEW of the settlements in Manitoba in the years prior to 1880 serves as an introduction to the fuller opening of the west to immigration. The settlements naturally fall into two classes—those founded in the fur trader days such as St. Boniface and Fort Garry, and those founded subsequently to 1870. In the latter year both Winnipeg and St. Boniface were villages—the former, one-half mile, the latter nearly a mile from Fort Garry. The first indication of a migration was the opening, in 1873, of Dufferin and West Lynne both close to the border. In the summer of 1874 Thomas Kearney, W. N. Fairbanks, F. T. Bailey and Captain Ash laid out the site of Emerson. Three miles to the south across the border was Pembina on the American side. Macoun tells us that at the end of 1881 Emerson had a population of 2,500, six religious denominations, a public school with three teachers and some manufacturing plants.

Selkirk dates from 1875. In that year the Canadian Pacific Railway decided that its site was a good place to cross the Red River. Other people thereupon selected the crossing as their future home. Settlement was quick. J. and F. W. Colcleugh founded a warehouse or store and the following year 1876 saw their example followed by many more.

Portage la Prairie was another islet on the vast prairie. Archdeacon Cochrane had built a church there in 1855. A Hudson's Bay Company store was opened ten years later. In 1871 settlers began to arrive. Michael Blake established a regular stage service with Winnipeg in 1875. (In the same year Mackenzie and Grant settled at Rat Creek.) Portage la Prairie was visited in 1876 by the S.S. Prince Rupert—a 120-ton boat—which ascended the Assiniboine from the Forks. By 1877 the town had two churches, twenty places of business, a school, and had reached a population of 300. "After many vexatious delays," as Macoun says, "the Canadian Pacific Railway reached the village in the early part of winter, 1880." (1880-1881.)

While settlement was taking place along the Assiniboine, settlers were seeking homesteads along the Red. St. Agathe was founded in 1870, Letellier in 1876, and the country along the United States border was soon thickly settled.

Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, the tide crept west. The "Great Plains" lying between Edrans, Melbourne and Pine Creek receivd settlers in 1877. J. C. Whelhems and an English company founded Rapid City in 1878. For a time, freight arrived at the "City" by Red River cart along the south trail, but in May, 1879, Captain Webber of the S.S. Manitoba brought a consignment to what he called "Rapid City Landing" . . . . the Grand Rapids[1] of fur trader days and the Currie's Landing of modern times. The Red River carts soon conveyed the freight to Rapid City. On Webber's second trip he ascended the rapids and reached Fort Ellice. In 1879 a Mr. Chalmers, of St. Catherine's, Ontario, founded Birtle at Bird Trail Creek. The winter of 1879 and 1880 saw Odanah and Minnedosa, on the Minnedosa River, hopefully surveyed as future city sites. Both are located at the crossing of the river by the old North Trail. (See Chart XIV, facing page 94.)

On Captain Webber's second trip up the Assiniboine in 1879, he landed Rapid City freight at "McVicar's Landing" at Grand Valley. With the cargo, settlers for many points arrived. Gradually homesteads dotted the Souris plains and the Assiniboine hinterland.

The larger settlements, however, were St. Boniface, Winnipeg, Fort Garry, Dufferin, West Lynne, Emerson, Portage la Prairie, Selkirk, Letellier, Rapid City, Minnedosa, Birtle, Shell River and Grand Valley. The southwest of the province was also receiving settlers in the Turtle Mountain district.

The Mackenzie Liberal Government

The incoming tide gradually increased in volume. It needed modern methods of transportation. In 1874 Mackenzie, Canada's Liberal Prime Minister, was asked by a deputation to establish a railway from Selkirk to Emerson at the U.S.A. border. The request was not granted, but the delegates were still anxious to establish railway connection

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[1]Not to be confused with Grand Rapids, N. Manitoba.

with the outside world, and in 1875 the Pembina branch, sixty miles long, was graded from Emerson to within seven miles of St. Boniface. The line was on the east side of the Red River. The contractor was Joseph Whitehead, whose father was reputed to have driven the first engine designed by George Stephenson. On October 15, 1875, having located the road to the border, the contractor and his engineers withdrew. An engine, the "Countess of Dufferin," used in the construction of the track is still on exhibition in Winnipeg. The year 1878 saw new contractors, viz., Upper and Willis, completing the grading to St. Boniface and the laying of the rails from the latter place to Emerson.[1]

The road was, according to Bryce, officially opened at Penza near Dominion City, November 3, 1879. Macoun says the last spike was driven December 2, 1879. This completion was the impetus needed to connect Manitoba by railway with the outside world. On May 23, 1879, George Stephen, James J. Hill, and Donald A. Smith formed the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company. It completed the line to the Canadian border. Manitoba was now within three days—not thirty-four as in the days of Youle Hind and the fur traders—with Toronto.

With the coming of 1880 the railway situation in the west was as follows: Ninety miles of track were laid east from Selkirk, and about 130 were laid west from Fort William. The Pembina-St. Boniface line was in operation. In the early winter of 1880 track was either laid or contracted for one hundred miles west from Winnipeg. The only thing needed to complete the connection between east and west was a bridge over the Red River. The piles for this structure began to be laid by contractor Ryan on February 5, 1880. It was opened July 28 of the same year.

This crossing of the Red River was of great significance. It was the "come-hither" sign for thousands of future settlers.

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[1]Glazebrook in his "History of Transportation in Canada" says (page 281) that the track was laid to Selkirk, a distance of 85 miles. Macoun and Begg support this assertion.

The Modern Period

When British Columbia entered confederation in 1867, it was on the understanding that a transcontinental railway would span the no man's land of the northwest to serve as a connecting link with eastern Canada. The Conservative Government of John A. Macdonald desired to implement its agreement with the western Province, but in so doing it accepted party funds from the railway contractors, and as this method of political life was not acceptable to the electorate a Liberal Government, under the premiership of Alexander Mackenzie, was formed in 1873. It held power till 1878.

Mackenzie inherited the transcontinental railway problem of the Conservatives and some of Macdonald's appointees. Sandford Fleming, the engineer in chief of the survey, was retained, and during the five years of the Mackenzie premiership he continued to assemble data on the basis of which the railway could some day be built. The Prime Minister and his engineer were in agreement on several points. The road should tend towards Yellow Head Pass. The route should traverse all navigable lakes and rivers and only the track necessary to connect the "water stretches" should be built.

Sandford Fleming outlined the western route as first leaving Selkirk for the Narrows of Lake Manitoba and thence northwest to the confluence of the Saskatchewan and on to Edmonton. Some time later owing to the protests of the early settlers the line was tentatively projected through Selkirk straight west to cross the Minnedosa River at Rapid City. The question as to the path the railway would eventually take was continuously debated in the press. A route fifty instead of 100 miles north of the border, recommended itself for a number of reasons. The northern part of the U.S. was being populated. A road close to the border would receive some freight and some passengers from that area. A road fifty miles north of the border would leave undisturbed the great fur lands of northern Canada. These lands were Canada's first and still are a great source of revenue. Coal

had been found in the Estevan area. A railroad crossing the Assiniboine near the mouth of the Minnedosa River and passing close to the Souris fields would help to develop the mines. Conclusions were being come to in the secrecy of Cabinet discussions. The burghers of Winnipeg were more alive to their future than those of Selkirk. The former caused the Red to be spanned by Louise Bridge. This was a deciding factor. The railway would take a southern route. It would cross the Assiniboine. The question was, "where?" The answer would tell where a great city would arise to grace the prairie sod.

THE COMING OF THE SETTLER

CHAPTER XVII

NOVA SCOTIA SETTLEMENT

Grand Valley—The Coming of the C.P.R.

IN THE PRECEDING pages the gradual growth of the West has been shown. News of these developments spread abroad. Affected by these discussions settlers began to arrive in the Northwest and to take up homesteads in the modern Brandon area. Among the earliest arrivals were three young men named Lambert. Those newcomers, who came to Winnipeg in 1877, and travelled by ox-cart to the mouth of the Minnedosa River,[1] were the first of a population of sturdy farmers. They named their locality "The Nova Scotia Settlement." James, William and Fred Lambert settled on the northeast half of section 29, township 10, range 19. The farming was good but no El Dorado, since the trains which might carry the produce to market were nearly 200 miles east at Selkirk and St. Boniface. Was it men like the Lamberts who brought in the Conservative Government of John A. Macdonald, in 1878, with the "National Policy" and a railway from coast to coast in "our day?" Whilst there was no flowing liquor and gun fights to celebrate the change in Government yet we feel certain there must have been gladness when the news arrived, possibly a month late.

The flow of settlers into the Northwest was at first a mere trickle. Dougald and John McVicar arrived from Greenville, Quebec, in June, 1879. They had a round-the-clock job before them since John homesteaded the north half of section 19—the northeast corner of which soon became a townsite, and Dougald farmed the west half of section 20 and the south half of section 19, mostly south of the Assiniboine River. (See Chart XV, page 103.)

The next addition to the Nova Scotia Settlement was in the spring of 1879. Two prospectors arrived—the one a young Englishman named James Rentelor Browning, came on a

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[1] Sometimes called the Little Saskatchewan River.

visit to his Lambert cousins—the other Sam Archibald from Halifax. The latter was the "spy examining the Promised Land."

With the arrival in May, 1879, of Reverend George Roddick, Mrs. Roddick, their children and some friends, the population was increased by eighteen. This party had intended to go to Prince Albert, but after settling temporarily near Chater, they moved to the Brandon Hills. The Roddicks were from Pictou County, Nova Scotia.

The early Nova Scotia Settlement was a "bachelor" farming community. In September, 1879, the spell was broken, Mrs. Dougald McVicar with her three children, Hattie, Lillian and Will were met by their father at Fort Garry. The early pioneers may have been rough, but they had many sentimental ties with Quebec and Nova Scotia. Years of "baching" made them long for at least postal connection with their boyhood homes, hence we find Dougald successfully asking for a post office near Assiniboine Crossing. Mrs. McVicar named the office "Grand Valley." Henceforth this name replaced "Nova Scotia Settlement." Mrs. McVicar was appointed the first postmistress.

One of the first letters sent out via Fort Garry from Grand Valley seems to have been addressed by Samuel Archibald to Henry Foster of Nova Scotia. So welcome was the news that Henry Foster and his wife and family left for the west, September 23, 1879. The party arrived at Winnipeg October of that year. After a week's delay, they were met there by Sam Archibald. Three weeks later the party arrived by ox-cart at their destination. Henry Foster farmed the southwest quarter of 30, where during World War II fledgling soldiers and airmen from Nanaimo to Halifax tried their skill on the rifle ranges.

The population of the former Nova Scotia Settlement in the winter of 1879 was about thirty-one. Among them was Miss Emily Foster and her sister Florence. The presence of these two young talented ladies must have greatly interested the community. A C.P.R. engineer found one young lady charming. He writes in her autograph album "We found the city of Florence." His name was General Rosser.

Sketch of Site of Grand Valley 1878-1885.

A—Grand Valley Site.
B—Iron Bridge.
C—First Street Bridge.
F—Ford R—Rifle Butts.
M—McVicar's warehouse and ferry.
19—N. ½ Sec. 19 (John McVicar).
   S. ½ Sec. 19 (Dougald McVicar).
20—W. ½ Sec. 20 (D. McVicar).
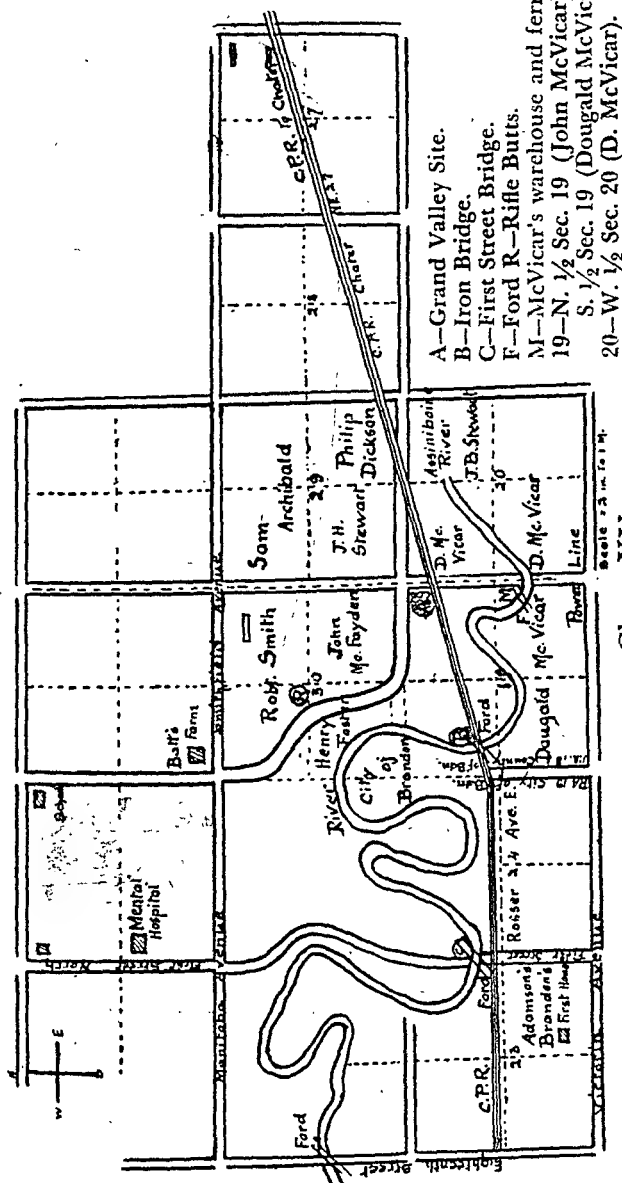
Chart XV

"Where the quiet-coloured end of evening smiles
    Miles and miles
On the solitary pastures where our sheep
    Half asleep

Tinkle homeward through the twilight, stray or stop
    As they crop—
Was the site once of a city great and gay,
    So they say."

—BROWNING.

Grand Valley

While the Grand Valley homesteads were being developed, a town was being built on the northeast corner of section 19—nearly one mile east from Brandon's Iron Bridge

and a quarter of a mile from the railroad track—near the Chalmers farm house. Canadian politics were still moving. Grand Valley far away in Rupert's Land—a country of very live timber wolves and equally alive Indians—was of insignificance to the magnificos of Canadian politics, except in so far as the prairies must be bridged to consolidate Confederation.

Canadian Pacific Railway

In December, 1880, a syndicate composed of George Stephen, president, Duncan McIntyre, vice-president, R. B. Angus, Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona), John Kennedy and others was formed to build the transcontinental railway. On February 15, 1881, the Syndicate became the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It's General Superintendent of the Western division was A. B. Stickney. Its engineer in chief in the west was J. J. Hill. The latter appointed General Thomas Lafayette Rosser, C.E., who fought on the Confederate side in the American Civil War, chief engineer in the west. Whilst this company was being formed life continued as usual in the Northwest Territories. In the spring of 1880, new settlers arrived in a variety of conveyances. Ed. Low was a passenger on the steamer "Marquette" on its first voyage of that year. Syd Hobbs, later a partner in the store of Low and Hobbs arrived by "Shanks Mare" from the "Forks of the Red." James Browning, father of James Rentelor Browning, who had worked with the Lamberts in 1879, was a simple voyageur by ox-cart from Fort Garry. (The first part of his trip was by steamship from his native England.)

Grand Valley Boomlet Summer 1880

The impersonal solitude that reigned over the homesteads of the Nova Scotia Settlement from 1877 to 1880 began, in the spring of 1880, to be disturbed. The "Iron Horse" was still afar off yet its coming hung like a pleasant haze over the eastern horizon. The town of Grand Valley consisted, in part, of Dougald McVicar's house, Low and Hobb's store, and Henry Foster's house. Henry Foster was, in a sense, a Grand Valley's first aristocrat. He had a "house in town" and as he was the manager of the McVicar riverside warehouse and

ferry across the Assiniboine River, he had as was fitting, a house beside the river. There were many wooden shacks, tents and stores in the town. A thrill of land speculation filled the air. Freight was being distributed from McVicar's warehouse on the river to Minnedosa, (then called Tanner's Crossing) and Rapid City. Grand Valley would be a distributing centre and mayhap a city—let's buy lots. The winter of 1880-1881 passed, leaving the settlers with plenty of room for speculation. The uncertainty of the times is reflected in the newspapers of the period. In the April 1, 1881, edition of the Manitoba Daily Free Press we find the following:

"A letter headed East Brandon N.W.T., and signed Sigma, states that a warehouse is being erected at Mair's Landing and there is a rumour that the train will cross the Assiniboine at the Rapids."[1]

Three weeks later—April 22, 1881—we read in the same newspaper:

" 'Truth' writes that a host of surveyors are searching for a suitable crossing place in the neighbourhood of Grand Valley and Brandon Hills. There are plenty of land grabbers and speculators."

Brandon

Brandon nowadays is tied to the world by many strings. In 1881 it was an unknown in the womb of the future. In the spring of that year, Joe Woodworth took up a homestead on section 24, and D. H. Adamson got Mr. Low and David Laird of Grand Valley to bring a load of lumber to section 23 and erect a shack there. What influenced this gentleman to select this half section? Very possibly it was the spring flood of 1881. The half section, where Brandon's pioneer citizen took up his abode, was bounded by Victoria Avenue on the south, Pacific Avenue on the north, First Street on the east, and Ninth Street on the west. The house was placed near the present grounds of St. Augustine's Church. (See Chart XV.)

It is unlikely that D. H. Adamson, in selecting the southeast quarter of section 23 for his homestead, knew that he was selecting part of Brandon's city site. Sandford Fleming, who was removed from his office of engineer in chief of the C.P.R., May 22, 1880, expressed his ideas as regards a city site in Appendix 15 of his report of April 8, 1880. He thought

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[1]See Chart XVI, facing page 124. Mair's Landing was where Yellow Quill Trail crosses the Assiniboine.

that a city should be built near the mouth of the Minnedosa River. The land as he wrote was unsurveyed and there were no difficult gradients or large bridges to build. The Minnedosa River might be reached with a minimum of river crossings.

Murdock, the special surveyor of this area, recommended that the train cross section 24 and head in a southwesterly direction for Oak Lake. He favoured a "road along the side hill, on the south side of the Assiniboine, rising to the prairie level." His idea prevailed; but let us complete the history of Grand Valley before we cross the Assiniboine River.

Arrival of General Rosser

The "Sourdough" homesteaders of 1878, 1879, and 1880 were gradually being surrounded by "tenderfeet" who were advancing in the van of the railway. One arrival in April, 1881, General Rosser, was not a tenderfoot. An engineer "handover" from the "Pacific Scandal" days, his pay was augmented by the number of lots he could sell on new townsites. Would he buy Grand Valley? Would he make the McVicar homestead a city site? He lived at Henry Foster's house, possibly the one near McVicar's warehouse, beside the river. The C.P.R. was approaching. The flood in Grand Valley in the spring of 1881 was not just an ordinary flood. It covered the low ground in sections 19 and 20. Grand Valley realtors and interested parties must have hung on the words of General Rosser! A flood at such a time was a bad omen.

Growing Excitement May 4, 1881

The excitement of the following months can easily be imagined from official documents.

On May 4, 1881, John McVicar signed with a cross an agreement with William Crawford, Dominion Land Surveyor, and James Harrison Brownlee, a real estate agent, to give these two men a one-fifth interest or twenty per cent of the undivided northeast quarter of section 19, township 10, range 18, (the Grand Valley townsite lands), provided Crawford and Brownlee would survey this quarter into lots suitable for sale, and advertise the same. This document was witnessed by Henry Foster and Dougald McVicar.

Adams G. Archibald
First Lieutenant-Governor of
Manitoba.

Mr. Patrick ("Pat") Burns, of Calgary, homesteaded at Minnedosa and later initiated his meat packing business on the C.P.R. at Brandon.

Reverend George Roddick—led the Brandon Hills pioneers westward.

Thomas Mayne Daly, Brandon's first mayor (1882). Born Stratford, Ont., August 16, 1852. First legal practitioner in western Judicial District. Dominion member for Selkirk, 1887. Minister of Interior 1892-1896. Practised in Rossland, B.C. 1897-1902. Later police magistrate in Winnipeg.

Reunion of Brandon Hills District Pioneers, July 14, 1921. Reading left to right—first settlers, 1879, in italics.

Back row: 1. *Wm. Bertram*; 2. John Campbell; 3, *Geo. Richards*; 4, *Jas. Davis* (Chater); 5. *Hugh Rice*; 6, *Jack McPherson*; 7, Allan Quarrie; 8, *David Roddick*; 9, Robert Roddick; 10, Peter Elder (1880).

Second row: 1. Charles Limran; 2, Mrs. Cox; 3, Mrs. John Roddick; 4, Mrs. Bob. Roddick; 5, *Mrs. W. H. Dunbar*; 6, Mrs. David Roddick; 7, Mrs. Hugh McPherson (nee Sellers).

First row: 1, *W. H. Dunbar*; 2, *John Roddick*; 3, Mrs. Morrison (nee *Miss Hattie McPherson*); 4, Georgina McPherson.
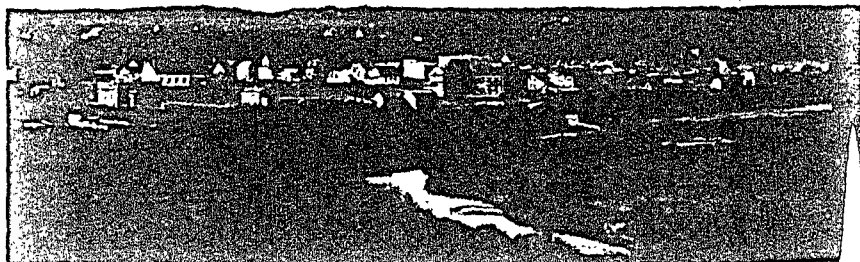
Birtle, Manitoba.

By May 20, 1881, the railroad was approaching. Specula-
tion in ideas and finance was rife. Rumour had it that
Dougald McVicar was offered $30,000 for his lands by a rail-
road advance agent. The cheque was handed over but papers
were not signed. A C.P.R. commissioner at Winnipeg is
alleged to have ordered the rescue of the cheque because it
had been decided to build a city on section 23 (Brandon
townsite). The cheque is rescued by devious means and des-
troyed, and McVicar accepts an uncertified cheque for
$35,000 from a private individual. This latter cheque is re-
turned "No Account." All gossip perhaps—but gossip in-
dicates the tension of the times.

In "Canada's Great Highway" the author, J. H. E.
Secretan, C.E., describes the founding of Brandon thus:

"General Rosser, Chief Engineer; John MacTavish, Land Commissioner;
and myself, were driving west one starry spring night in search of a suit-
able place for the first Divisional Point west of Winnipeg. We were well
ahead of the surveyed line and stopped that night at a farmhouse on the
north side of the Assiniboine River. It was an ideal site for a Divisional
Point about 132 miles west of Winnipeg. The officials had a long talk
with the farmer, which lasted nearly all night, until I understood an offer
was made on behalf of the C.P.R. Company of fifty thousand dollars
for the farm. I fully believe that this honest son of the soil had never even
read about so much money in books. The discussion proceeded and some
'wise guys' of neighbours and relations were called in and consulted,
till at last, towards dawn, our genial host was egged on to demand 'sixty
thousand dollars,' no doubt thinking that if his farm was worth so much
money he might as well get a lot more. The General thought otherwise.
I think the farmer was astonished . . . when the General ordered me to
have the horses hitched up. We ferried across the Assiniboine River and
after driving a mile or two came upon the future site of the city of
Brandon on the south side of the placid stream basking in the sun. I
received orders to return to the end of the track and continue the location
of the main line, establishing the first Divisional Point at Brandon."

Steamboat Versus Railway

On May 24, 1881, Grand Valley almost became a port. In
the spring of 1880 the steamer "Marquette" arrived on the
first voyage of that season. On May 24, 1881, a new steamer
arrived—the S.S. City of Winnipeg.

This day of grace set down at Assiniboine crossing Mrs.
Browning and her children, Amy, Fred and a younger sister.
Among the other passengers was a Mr. J. C. Kavanagh. The

Brownings settled on a farm near the mouth of the Minnedosa River. Mr. Kavanagh had been sent from Ottawa to be the second postmaster in the thriving town of Grand Valley. The sightseers must have noticed with regret that many travellers continued on the trip to Brandon. But next day, as Beecham Trotter remarks,[1] they might have been cheered if they had noticed a new face at the Grand Valley picnic—a certain James Canning, who passed them by on the twenty-fourth, returned the next day to escape from the loneliness of Brandon.

Engineer Fords Assiniboine

Early in April, 1881, the railway was east of the present Carberry, east even of De Winton and the 99th meridian which was then the western boundary of Manitoba.

Rumour flies ahead. Grand Valley will be by-passed. General Rosser and Robert Adamson, a Winnipeg banker, have borrowed horses from Henry Foster and having forded the Assiniboine have purchased land and house of D. H. Adamson on section 23—Brandon's site. No other news could be more serious. There is need for reflection.

It is pleasant now and then to step aside from the great task of building a continental railway to examine the social life of the early pioneers. Grand Valley furnishes a typical example of the prairie home, the prairie village and the activities of a community nearly seventy years ago.

The home life of the early settlers was not as uncomfortable as some people imagine. It is true that according to our present standards many things such as the gramophone, the radio, the cinema, the newspaper and possibly the piano were missing, but these things can be lacking and life be very enjoyable. The settler generally arrived with a tent in the early summer. Once a place was located, logs were cut and a wooden hut was built. Meantime the settler lived in his tent, and tent life is not unpleasant in the summer months. These houses were followed by homes built from lumber which had been manufactured by a saw mill in the locality, Rapid City, or brought in from Winnipeg on the river steamers. Development was very quick. Here is a list of the furnishings of a home in Grand Valley in 1881. It gives a good idea of a com-

[1]Trotter, "A Horseman and the West"—Macmillan & Co.

fortable middle class home: Carpet in parlour and dining room. Small rugs in bedroom. Two stoves and pipes. One cooking stove and furniture of stove. Four kitchen chairs. In parlour—half dozen cane chairs, one rocking chair, one lounge, one table. In dining room—one dining table, eleven chairs—perforated bottoms. In bedrooms—four bedstands, one spring bed, three mattresses, one stand.

The church has always been closely identified with the home. In Grand Valley, as there were no churches, the home became the church. The major portion of Catholic settlers took up homesteads south of the Assiniboine River. The members of this church were accordingly few and they were served by itinerant missionaries from St. Mary's, Winnipeg.[1] The same possibly happened to the adherents of the Anglican Church. The Reverend George Roddick conducted Presbyterian services in the Methodist home of D. McVicar every second Sunday from 1879 till 1882. (On alternate Sundays service was at Stewart's on the Dominion Experimental Farm site.) At first there were no chairs, the congregation sat on the floor. The minister, in 1882 and 1883, was the Reverend Hyde. The latter conducted services in Leask and Rose Drug Store. Mr. George Laird led the singing. The Methodist Church, in Grand Valley was under the supervision of Reverend Thomas Lawson. Mr. Lawson sometimes held services in the open air, sometimes in tents. In those pioneer days the minister's salary was $600.

The Coming of the C.P.R.

The months of May, June, July and August provided the denizens of Grand Valley with much material for speculation as to whether their town would live or die. The rumour that the new site was something more than gossip was only too evident to anyone who cared to ford the river and walk the mile and a half between the "Valley" and section 23. Coombs and Stewart and other stores were opening up over yonder but the big question was would the C.P.R. build a station east of the "Wooden Bridge." If it did so people might very well favour Grand Valley and the newly selected site would

[1] The missionary was Rev. Jean-Baptiste Beaudin, O.M.I., who visited Brandon "depuis l'origine de la petite ville en 1881, jusqu'au mois de septembre, 1882." Records of Oblate Order.

be abandoned. If, on the other hand, the new site was approved of, would it be possible to have a siding, and so retain Grand Valley and rescue their speculations from the maelstrom. At the back of some minds there was even a third alternative. We must remember this new town was the first gateway to the west. Might not a mighty city spring which would cover both areas. Realtors seldom miss a point:

From letters and other sources we know that Grand Valley in February, 1882, was a progressive village. Six months previous it must have been more so for some citizens moved to Brandon in the interval. There were many buildings: Joe Burke's, Decow and Cameron, Low and Hobbs, McLean's Bakery Shop, Leask and Rose Druggists, Harper's General Store, R. T. Evans store, Brownlee's "Brandon Hotel"—a tent, Mr. Thomas Leo's Harness Shop, McVicar's Warehouse, Rankin's Drapery Shop, a school house, John McFayden's house on the high ground near the school house, Henry Foster's house. There were many other structures, shacks and tents. The town was neatly laid out with some amenities, and partial sidewalks, at least in front of the stores. It was a town worth struggling for.

The C.P.R. Approaches

On February 5, 1880, Contractor Ryan began to construct a pile bridge over the Red River. On July 28 of the same year, this bridge was completed. It was formally opened by driving a train consisting of an engine (the "Countess of Dufferin") and two flat cars from St. Boniface to Winnipeg and then returning to St. Boniface. The passengers were Mr. and Mrs. Ryan, T. J. Linskey, C.P.R. Superintendent, J. H. Rowan, J. G. McDonald and a few others.

West of the Red River there was already one hundred miles of railway which, according to Macoun, reached Portage la Prairie "early in the winter of 1880." This westward line was now connected with the east. If we take the figure one hundred literally, the C.P.R. must have been constructed to a point between MacGregor and Austin—twenty-nine miles west of Portage la Prairie. The sands of time were thus running out fast for those in Grand Valley who desired a station there. The date was about December, 1880.

Construction does not seem to have been swift between the spring of 1881 and August 30 of that year. Only forty-eight miles of roadbed needed to be graded and tracked, yet William Muir who arrived in Brandon on the latter date recalled that he came on a construction train to De Winton, and whilst the road was graded to Brandon the track was laid very little farther than De Winton. Alonso Rowe, however, claimed to have arrived in Brandon by the first construction train September 5, 1881. This claim is unsupported.

C.P.R. Time Card No. 2 became effective September 25, 1881. From this we can deduce there was a time card number one, and that passenger train service must have begun to Grand Valley and Brandon about September 21, 1881. After careful consideration of all references this author has come to the conclusion that this is the most likely date.[1]

The question that disturbed men's minds at Grand Valley while the train slowly advanced from Portage la Prairie and Austin was—would it stop at Grand Valley or would it bypass the town and proceed to the new townsite. From the date of the documents can be gathered the attempts made to secure the patronage of the railway.

John McVicar made an agreement with Robert Adamson of Winnipeg to give him a half interest in the Grand Valley site, (N.E. quarter section 19), provided the said Robert Adamson would get the Canadian Pacific Railway to put a station there. The date and time are on the document 11.50 a.m., September 5, 1881—Registration Office of Turtle Mountain.

The village got no promise of a siding, but lots continued to be sold by Crawford, surveyor, and Brownlee, realtor. Trains kept on their course without stopping. On January 16, 1882, the Nova Scotia Settlers made one supreme effort.

Dougald McVicar, John V. Stewart, John McFayden, James Harvey Stewart, Joseph Golden, John McVicar, James McFayden, Douglas Decow on one part and Nathaniel Boyd and George R. Crow, lumber merchants on the other part make an agreement. The farmers will give a half interest in the northwest quarter of section 20, northeast quarter of 29, southeast quarter of 30, northeast quarter of

19, southwest quarter of 30, in consideration for $1.00 in cash and effective influence of Boyd and Crow in securing a siding and a station of the C.P.R. line at Grand Valley before May 1, 1882. Alas for human wishes, Grand Valley received no siding.

The Decline of Grand Valley

After the railway had by-passed the village, in September, 1881, and had opened no station there, one can sense that despite the efforts of its inhabitants the town was doomed. Gradually the store-keepers and other traders moved to Chater or to Brandon.

The half section on which the town stood was sold to Sheriff Clement of Brandon for $1,500. Some of the buildings fell into disrepair, and while some continued to be used there was a general feeling of decay. The remaining history of the town can be told briefly.

The first school teacher in Brandon's antecedent village was a Mr. J. A. Grimmett, who taught from 1882 to December 1883. Mr. Grimmett later became a Vancouver lawyer. A new school house was built in 1882. Miss Maggie Jones was the next teacher (January 1884 to May 1885). School was held over McVicar's. The school built in 1882 was moved sometime between December 1883 and May 1885. It was not in the village between May 1885 and December 1885, between which dates Mr. J. A. Grimmett taught a second term.

George T. Earle and his father moved to Grand Valley from Souris in the spring of 1883 to take over the management of a brickyard owned by J. E. Woodworth, M.P. for Brandon County. There are still traces of this brickyard.

There are only six houses mentioned as being left in Grand Valley village in 1884, viz., McVicar's Hotel, a blacksmith shop, an Englishman's cottage, and three other structures. One gathers that prosperity had fled and the houses were dilapidated and in many cases empty.

On February 12, 1884, a Mr. Harry Andrews received section nineteen for a homestead.

This is part of the story of Grand Valley. It is told here so that some record may be kept of Brandon's antecedent village.

CHAPTER XVIII

BRANDON HILLS SETTLEMENT

"From the lone shieling of the misty island
Mountains divide us, and the waste of seas.
Yet still the blood is strong and the heart is Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides.
  Fair these broad meads—these hoary woods are grand;
  But we are exiles from our fathers' land."

CANADIAN BOAT SONG (*Author unknown*)

THE BRANDON HILLS SETTLEMENT, about nine miles south and east of Brandon city, was the outcome of advertisements published in the Nova Scotia press by land agencies in the late seventies. Among those who read these notices was a Presbyterian minister, who for twenty-one years had served a congregation at West River, Pictou County. His name was George Roddick. Spurred on by the desire to give his four sons an opportunity of engaging in farming in one community, the Reverend Roddick, Mrs. Roddick (nee Elizabeth Roddick) and their seven children, Melville, David, Robert, John, Elena, Georgina and Mary left on April 9, 1879 for western Canada. Accompanying them were some members of Mr. Roddick's congregation, viz., Hugh McPherson, Hugh Rice, Simon McKay, Gordon Haliday, Anderson McCabe, Henry Dunbar, John Crawford, and Charles, Jack and Watson Stewart.

The party took passage on the ferry at Pictou and having boarded the Intercontinental Railway for Montreal, journeyed via Chicago to St. Boniface. At this early date, St. Boniface possessed no station accommodation. The train stopped and the alighting passengers were greeted by the amused, yet welcoming smiles of the local residents, white and Indian. Mr. Roddick and party, escorted by D. Murray, Winnipeg Chief of Police, an old friend, crossed the Red River to Winnipeg on a scow.

The newcomers remained in Winnipeg from April 17 to April 21, using their time to purchase such farm implements and household utensils as ploughs, harrows, harness,

stoves, pots, pans and such things. The group also bought eighteen wagons, seventeen teams of oxen and one team of horses. The latter was to haul the wagon containing the women and children. Mr. Roddick's share in this purchase was one team of oxen, two wagons and one team of horses. The party was not wholly enamoured of Winnipeg. The inland air and water seemed to disagree with the sea-loving Nova Scotians. It was decided to shake the dust of the city from their feet, and on Thursday morning, April 22, they left for the West expecting to settle in the Prince Albert area. Such was their hope but a long and wearisome road presently changed their plan. It was early spring, and the trails were very poor. There was no well defined road. Wagons and animals often became so mired that it was necessary to rescue the women and children by horseback or on men's backs, and then double the oxen to haul out the wagons from apparently bottomless sloughs. One full day was necessary to reach Sturgeon Creek where the night was spent. By Saturday, April 24, the party had reached Poplar Point after a two-day journey. Samuel Bannerman provided them with food and shelter, and on Sunday, Mr. Roddick held church services in the school house. On Monday, April 26, Mr. Bannerman and his fourteen-year-old son, Donald, guided the party to Portage la Prairie. This was a real service as it was necessary to remove wire fences here and there, and Mr. Bannerman knew the neighbouring settlers sufficiently well to soothe their feelings. The party encamped one night at the west end of Portage la Prairie, but the women especially did not rest well because a party of Indians was holding a pow-wow in the vicinity. The next thirty miles of trail crossed Cook's Creek (April 27), Image Creek (April 28), McKinnon's Creek (April 29), and Pine Creek, the latter about ten miles west of McGregor, as the crow flies. Practically all the way the route lay through a dismal swamp. The caravan arrived on Saturday night, May 1, at Pine Creek. The encampment of the previous night had been made in the shelter of some trees which afforded slight shelter from the moist snow and rain. Thoroughly soaked and hungry, as they had not eaten since midday, the travellers set out on Suday morning for a house far out on the prairie. It proved to be a haven owned by two

bachelors. The name of one of these gentlemen to the regret of Mrs. Henry Dunbar,[1] is lost beyond recall, the other was a Mr. Barron, who later became a prosperous cattle dealer in the "Great Plains" or Carberry area. At a later date Reverend Mr. Roddick officiated at the wedding of Mr. Barron.

The "Great Plains" were reached on May 2, 1879. The pioneers headed somewhat to the southwest and soon, from the Douglas area, they saw the waters of the Assiniboine and the Blue Hills of Brandon. As their immediate destination was Rapid City, they turned northwest towards that village, examining on the way in a leisurely fashion the lands over which they were travelling. This accounts for their arrival at the "City" on the evening of May 8, six days after they left Pine Creek. Their arrival on Saturday was followed by a rest of about four days. Mr. Roddick held joint services on Sunday with a young minister named Smith, at the home of a Mr. Sybil. Later on that day the men of the party set out on foot for the Land Office at Minnedosa, to enter for homesteads. They walked in order to rest the animals. The journey to and fro must have been about forty miles. In the meanwhile the women of the party, and a four-months-old baby, the child of Mrs. Smith—about eleven in all—rested at Rapid City.

The party purchased some supplies in Rapid City but available stocks were limited as it was still spring and supplies from Portage la Prairie had not yet arrived. When these details of resting and purchasing supplies had been attended to, the men returned, announcing that they had "entered for homesteads" in the Chater area. The settlers now knew their destination. Leaving Rapid City on May 12, they came to Chater in one day. May 13, 1879, saw Mr. Roddick leaving Chater for Portage la Prairie to replenish supplies. While he was absent, an attempt was made to dig a well. Water was found but it was of such poor quality that not even the oxen would drink it. This serious drawback induced the party to abandon Chater, and on May 24, shortly after Mr. Roddick's return from Portage la Prairie, they set out for Grand Valley where they spent the night. Having waterproofed the wagons and made some into rafts, they crossed the Assiniboine on

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[1] Eldest daughter of Rev. Mr. Roddick.

the following day and soon reached their future home in the Brandon Hills. Mrs. Henry Dunbar, then a girl of 14, recalls that there was no house of any kind in Grand Valley at the time of their crossing, and that McVicar's Ferry was not yet in being. She thinks too that the McVicars had very likely not returned from working in Ontario during the winter. She has no recollection of seeing buildings on the Grand Valley townsite on May 24, 1879.

The members of the Roddick party who crossed over the Assiniboine at Assiniboine crossing or the Ford on May 24, 1879, were Mr. and Mrs. Roddick, Mary, Elena, Georgina, Melville, David, Robert and John Roddick. Crossing this Rubicon at the same time were Hugh McPherson, Hugh Rice, Simon McKay, Gordon Haliday, Henry Dunbar, John Copeland and Anderson McCabe. In this party there were twelve men and boys, one woman—Mrs. Roddick, and her four girls. It is interesting to record that in the caravan there were five yoke of oxen, one team of horses, some tons of farm implements and freight such as bags of sugar, and that the crossing was made in one day without loss.

Members of the Roddick party who did not cross the river were Charles, Jack and Watson Stewart, who settled where the Dominion Experimental Farm is now located. They had with them their mother, Mrs. Stewart and her daughter, Mary, then a girl of about twenty years. James Edward Ritchie, a young man about thirty, and his widowed mother had decided to remain in the Chater area. John Crawford did likewise. Mrs. Richard with her daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. James Edward Smith, and their baby girl settled in the Chater area. Robert Ritchie and his sister Annie, settled in the same locality, but his wife and family remained in the East.

A new contingent of settlers arrived in August 1879. Composing it were the families of: Davis, Foxall, Marten and McLearin from the United States; the Evans and Jones family from Wales; John Mitchell, William Bertram and Lachlan McLean from Scotland; Frank Bowen and Joel McKay from Nova Scotia; W. Johnston, John Doran Sr. and George Doran from Ontario. William Johnston, Mrs. Johnston and their six small children arrived on July 16,

1879. They accompanied the Dorans who came from Iroquois, Ontario. Arriving at St. Boniface, they travelled by horse and wagon through Morris, Morden, Crystal City, Wakopa, Turtle Mountain area, and Rapid City to Brandon Hills.

The Kennedys and John T. Arthur, who settled north of the river and south of the Mental Hospital, came in 1880. Among those who arrived in the Little Souris area in the early part of May, 1879, prior to the arrival of the Roddick party, was a Charles McLean. Charles, who died at the age of 101 years, 1 month, 29 days, about the year 1936, was a bachelor who came to Ontario with his two brothers in 1878. The three left for the Little Souris area in 1879. Charles McLean was survived by a nephew, Hector McLean, and numerous descendants.[1]

The summer of 1879 was used by the Roddicks to build a loghouse and a stable. No crops were sown, but hay was saved. Ample provisions had been brought by the party from Nova Scotia and hauled from Winnipeg or Portage la Prairie.

Mr. Roddick on his first trip from the Moose Head Hills to Winnipeg in September, 1879, performed numerous errands, among them the purchase of a French pony and buggy. On his second trip he had two wagons, one drawn by two oxen and driven by Melville Roddick, the other drawn by a team of horses.[2] Mrs. Roddick accompanied her husband. The children remained at home in charge of David and Mary. Mr. Roddick bought two cows and a half dozen hens. The cows provided milk which up to then was lacking. There was no need to purchase fancy dress goods, or an organ or a grandfather's clock—all these had been brought out in the first trip from Nova Scotia. Along with the antiques came a large barrel of salted pork in brine, very fat but very useful in the first winter.

[1] Hector McLean was a sea captain at Glasgow, Scotland. He came to Brandon Hills direct, in 1879. His birthplace was Call, Argyleshire.
John L. McLean, whose father's name was Lachlan McLean, came from Tyree, Argyleshire. He came direct to Brandon Hills, 1879.
John McLean also came from Tyree, Scotland, first to Ontario and then to Little Souris district. His brother was Charles McLean the centenarian.
Hector, John L. and John were not related.
[2] These horses came west in 1879 on the same train as the Roddicks.

The first fall in 1879 in Brandon Hills Settlement saw four of the men depart for winter railway work at Port Arthur and in Winnipeg. These were Henry Dunbar, a cabinet maker; Hugh McPherson and Mr. Rice, farmers; and Gordon Haliday, a carpenter. There were not many families between the Assiniboine and the International border during the winter of 1879-1880, but we venture to say that very few were as happy as the residents of the "Hills." The Roddicks had all the young men, who had "no women" for Christmas dinner, 1879. There were eighteen people in all, and there was plenty of stuffed prairie chicken and pemmican, and plum pudding. Pemmican was made by killing a steer and separating the meat and the bones. First the meat was cooked and then the bones were crushed to secure the marrow. This was boiled with the bones. The boiled meat was next put into a skin sewn into the form of a bag. The boiled marrow fat was poured over the meat. The skin bag was then sewn tight. If kept in a dry place, pemmican never rotted. Many people kept a small hatchet to cut off a slab. Pemmican when fried, to soften the lard, made a palatable and even delicious food.

Family life in 1879 was not greatly different from that of a well-trained family on a farm in 1944. Mrs. Roddick taught her children how to sew, to make dresses, to cook, to knit and to make mitts. Dressed deer skins were purchased in Winnipeg for this purpose. Long dresses, to the boot tops, were the fashion of the day. There were, of course, button boots and even hooped skirts. Mrs. Dunbar recalls the social life of the times—a gay party at Mr. Crawford's near Chater—another party at Stewart's. Each one contributed one's share—this one a song, that one a dance, and still others recitations, etc. Blindman's Buff and guessing contests with the occasional quadrille enlivened many a moment. The settlers were never sad. They were busy. They sang hymns round the organ. They visited. They made friends. Mrs. H. Dunbar, the former Mary Roddick, had in the old days learned the piano in Pictou. This was a great asset. When the settlers arrived at their location their land was unsurveyed. This did not dismay them. An old survey, ten miles north served as a guiding line, and with a

rake and pocket compass their lands were soon outlined, and when two years later the government surveyor inspected this area, he found that the settlers had done an almost perfect job in their calculations. Their lands over which the survey passed were well wooded, but there were no trees in the Brandon area except along the river banks.

In 1879 and 1880, Mrs. H. Dunbar used to visit Grand Valley, about once a month or oftener with a horse and buggy. The river was crossed at McVicar's landing on a scow. There was great rejoicing when they heard that the "New Town" was to be located on the south bank of the Assiniboine. Mary Roddick and her sisters were in terror of the scow at McVicar's landing.

The Brandon of 1880 was a "funny town" of tents. In the first year there were few dressmakers and they were not needed. One recalls having dresses made at "Mrs. Ford's" on Rosser Avenue. The "Oyster Parlours" were a concession to the Nova Scotians, who all came from the sea and liked fish foods. Mrs. H. Dunbar, who seems to be the last of the pioneers of Brandon Hills, recalls that one time she needed a doctor. A messenger was sent on horseback the twenty miles to Rapid City to ask a Doctor Condell (not the Brandon doctor of that name) to come. He arrived the next day in mid-afternoon. At first Dr. Fleming was their physician and later Dr. Spence.

Mrs. Henry Dunbar was married on June 29, 1882, at the age of 18. In 1885 she accompanied her husband on a trip to Winnipeg. Their young boy, Alec, then four or five months old, accompanied them. Babies were carried in arms in those years, long before the invention of perambulators. The Rebellion of 1885 did not affect the settlers. Give the Indians what they asked for and they were happy. What they wanted especially, was strong tea, and if possible, tobacco.

The first post office in Brandon Hills was opened in 1880 at Mr. Roddick's home. The first church was opened in the Hills on Mr. Roddick's farm on October 18, 1896. The first school was opened on Melville Roddick's place, 1882. It was called the Brandon Hills School. The first teacher was a man, D. D. McKay, a Prince Edward Islander. There were

two small boys and two small girls, children of Rev. Mr. Roddick, attending it with about sixteen other pupils.

A cairn commemorating the founding of the settlement was erected in May 1939. Present and taking part in the unveiling were Reverend J. S. Lowe, pastor of the local United Church, Professor A. H. Foster of Brandon College, Mr. J. E. Mathews, M.P., and Mayor Fred Young of Brandon, and Mr. H. Dunbar.

In war, as in peace, the residents of Brandon Hills have played their part. To commemorate those who fell in World War I, a handsome Scotch granite monument was erected at Brandon Hills United Church in June 1920. The names commemorated are Henry Davis, Harry Kneeshaw, George Palmer, David Blackwell, Arthur West, Herbert Pettit, and Albert Handsford. The unveiling was followed by an address by Reverend J. George Miller. Among those present were Major Charles Whillier, Mr. W. I. Smale and Mr. Weir. Mr. Henry Dunbar acted as Master of Ceremonies.

In World War II, the following have served their country nobly: Carswell Blight, Howard McPherson, George Baker, Lloyd Boles, Wilfred Coate, Wilfred Wakefield, Donald Wilkinson (killed), Harold Wilkinson, Douglas Chapman, Harleigh Hargreaves, William Hargreaves, Wilbert Chapman, and Gertrude Baker, Thelma Baker and Dorothy Wakefield.

The Reverend George Roddick, the man who by virtue of personality and example was the virtual founder of the Brandon Hills Settlement returned to spend the last five years of his life in Pictou, Nova Scotia. He died there, stricken by paralysis, on the 11th of February, 1930. Truly can we say that his paths were the way of righteousness. His sons Melville, David, Robert and John farmed in the "Hills" and died there. Lena married a Mr. Dunbar and lives at North Portal, Sask. Georgina also married and lived at North Portal, Sask. Mary, the eldest daughter, who was married by Reverend Thos. Lawson to Henry Dunbar on June 28, 1889, lived in the "Hills" and finally retired to Brandon, a fitting daughter to a wonderful father.

Forts and Settlements in Assiniboine-Souris Basin.

South-East Brandon Area.

Legend —
Church ○
School
Trail
Other Trail
Trail
Railroad
Elder Settlements
Scale 1 inch to a mile
English Miles

○ Approx date RR construction reached point
R. Brandon Hills Settlers noted by Surveyor Abrey October 1880. Long. 99°35′W.

NORTH CYPRESS
C.P.R.
Douglas Station
Camp Hughes

DALY
ELTON

31   36   31   Chater   36   31 Cr.   Willow Cr.   36   31

Wed. Sept. 21st 1881
Trinacria
Mon. Sept. 19th 1881
Fri. Sept. 16th 1881
Fri. Sept. 9th 1881

Grand Rapids. (Currie's Rapids)

Legend.
A — Farm House
B — Barns
C — Freight Shed and Store
D — Tie Up for Boats
E — Windlass
F — Dead Man
R — Rapids
M — Boat Passage
Islands
1 — Inglesberg
2 — Kevin's
3 — Katherine's
4 — Mary's

Sec. 1 and 2 T.P. 10 RA. 18 W 1

J. Gray 1879
10
Brandon
Grand Valley School
Truss and Pile Bridge

Lat 49°51′N
Great Northern 1906
Trail to Grand
Trail to Alexander
Grand Valley Trail
(Currie's Landing)

CORNWALLIS

C.N.R. (Canadian Northern)   Shilo

Insets

C.P.R. Contract L. Bent
C. Whitehead Oct. 25 1881
Bridge 16′ 1883
6
Roseland
6
31
School
Cornwallis School
M.H. Lowe Lowe J.A.
Trail
Currie's Rapids
School
Currie's Landing (Grand Rapids)

Sproule's or Seven Sisters Stopping House
36   31   1828–1832 Brandon House No. 3
W.M. Baker W.J.
J. and E. Harris Baker
Archibald
Brandon Hills
P.O.

Green T. Wright
Wigle Springs
Trails
36   31

Brandon House
I and II (H.B. Co.)
N.E. ¼ Sec. 35 Tp. 8 Ra. 17 W. 1

W. Elder   Wm.
A.C. Wright Morgan

Forest

Bent Bridge 1882
H.B.C. Trail
Wm. Johnston's Stopping Ho.
Glen Souris School
Souris House
A. Taylor 1885

Pile Bridge Built 1882
Little Souris School
McKelvie
H.B.C.
McLean
H. McLean
J. Pyan
McLean
L.H. W.
M. McLean Martin Bowes
Brandon
W. Truss Bridge 160′ 1883
F. Foxall
Brandon Hills School
Rev. G. J.M. Rossie Roddick
B.B. Donald McKay
Hugh McPherson's Stopping Ho.
T. Waddington

I Fort Assiniboine House (N.W. Co.)
II La Souris Fort (N.W. Co.) III X.Y. Fort
N.E. ¼ Sec. 12 Tp. 8 Ra. 16   (Independent)

J. Doran's Stopping Ho.
Leslie — Chapman
6
Wm. McCandlish Stopping
Moose Head Hills
Blue Hills of Brandon
Souris
Pile Bridge 1882
Chapman
River
Maher's Stopping House
W. Foster R.
J. A. Waddington Kelly
Red Elder
Pippin
G. Mate
Maur
R. Brown   Brown

31   36   31
L. Clement
Lake of the Hills
Wm. Bennett's
Jim Cleveland's Stopping House
Hayfield
Hayfield P.O.
W. Bertram
W.I. Elder
East Brandon School House
36
A. Killam
H.B.Co.
G.P. Graham Elder
O.H. Cullen
Sipple Elder
G.S. Criddle
Fortune
Brandon House H.B.Co.
No. I 1793–1818 1821–1824
36   31

Wright No. II
Brandon House H.B. Co. 1818–1821
A. Stephen Wright 1892
Ackerne P. Criddle Aug. 1882
To Portage Prairie

La Souris Ho. 1805–1821
Milford and Grand Valley Trail
Yellow Quill Trail or Yellow Grass Trail To Pine Fort

Assiniboine House 1793–1805 North-West Co.
Fort 1793–1806 (Independent)

Rathwell
Roundthwaite
R.O.
Ferry
Ford

CHART XVI

From "The Assiniboine Basin." Copyrighted by M. Kavanagh.

Insets

Brandon House I and II (H.B.Co.)
N.E. ¼ Sec. 35 Tp. 8 Ra. 17 W.1

Forest

W. Elder

A.C. Wright   Morgan

Reserve

I Fort Assiniboine House (N.W.Co.)
II La Souris Fort (N.W.Co.) III X.Y. Fort
N.E. ¼ Sec. 19 Tp. 8 Ra 16   (Independent)

C. Mair

R. Brown   M. Brown

CORNWALLIS

Roseland

Cornwallis School
M.H. J.A. Lowe/Lowe

Bent Bridge 1883

C.P.R. Contract C. Whitehead Oct. 25 1881

Rapids
(Grand Rapids)

School
Currie's Landing

Sproule's or Seven Sisters' Stopping House

Brandon House
1828-1832

Bent Bridge 1882

H.B.C. Trail

Brandon Hills P.O.

Wm. Johnston's Stopping Ho.

Wigle's Springs

Pile Bridge Built 1882

Truss Bridge 1883

Brandon Hills School

Glen Souris School   House

Little Souris School

J. Doran's Stopping Ho.

Rev. G. J.M. Reddick

Hugh McPherson's Stopping Ho.

Pile Bridge 1882

Pile and Truss Bridge 1883

McKelvie

Moose Head Hills or Blue Hills of Brandon

Maher's Stopping House

Lake of the Hills

Wm. McCandlish Stopping Ho.

L. Clementi

Wm. Bennett

East Brandon School House

Brandon House H.B.Co. 1818-1821

Jim Cleveland's Stopping House

Stopping Ho. Trail 1880

Brandon House
N.A. I – 1793-1813
II – 1821-1824

Acme P. Criddle Aug. 1882

La Souris Ho. 1805-1821

Assiniboine House 1793-1805 North-West Co.

To Portage la Prairie

Hayfield P.O.

Hayfield

W.J. Rathwell

J. Pratt

Yellow Quill Trail or Yellow Grass Trail   To Pine Fort

Ford and Grand Valley Trail

Fort 1793-1806 (Independent)

Ferry

Ford

Assiniboine River

Indian Trail

Rountwaite

Sam Rountwaite

Reids

A.T. Elder   W.J. Elder

Banting

Treesbank

OAKLAND

Carroll 1892

Carlton P.O. 1883-1892

Banting

C.E. Stephen

Chaucer Siding

Millford

Methven

Methven Jct.

Mooney (Nellie McClung) Homestead

Nesbitt

W. Hume Martin Stopping House

Chesley School House

Wawanesa

F. Payne's Stopping House

Northfield School

Mrs. Spicer's Stopping Ho.

Souris City P.O.

Truss Bridge 1882

School

Mandan Trail

Souris River

Wm. English Stopping Ho.

A. Murray

Blue Hills of Souris or Tiger Hills

Ashdown

GLENWOOD   SOUTH CYPRESS

19   18   17   16   15

CHAPTER XIX

STEAMBOATS ON THE RED AND ASSINIBOINE RIVERS

THERE ARE few more fascinating studies in the development of the West than the rise and decline of steamboat traffic which coincided with the beginning and end of the early pioneering stage.

Up to 1859 no steamboats had plied the Red River. In June of that year the first of a small fleet arrived at Fort Garry. It had come from St. Peter's River. Cannon boomed from the fort to welcome the stranger and as it splashed to the landing stage the colonists saw its name was the "Anson Northup."[1]

The Hudson's Bay Company realized that a new era in transportation had arrived. It quickly acquired a boat site opposite Riviere au Boeuf, 200 miles south of Winnipeg. They named the place Georgetown in honour of Sir George Simpson. Burbank and Company of St. Paul, established a stage between the latter city and Georgetown, and thus Fort Garry was for the first time within twelve days communication with Montreal. In 1860 only a few trips were made northwards but in the following year a regular service of boats conveyed passengers up and down the Red River. In the spring of 1862, a luxurious boat named the "International," costing $20,000, was put in service. Owing, however, to fear of the Sioux Indians, steamer traffic practically ceased till 1872. At this time smallpox having decimated the Indians and the Northern Pacific having been built, passengers and freight were speedily brought from Duluth to Moorhead and Fargo.

This was the period when passengers in numbers began to come westward, some by the Dawson Route from Lake Superior, and others by Fargo. The traffic was sufficiently remunerative for several companies to interest themselves in river transportation. These companies were the Kittson or Red River Transportation Company, the Winnipeg and

[1]McWilliams, "Manitoba Milestones," Dent & Co., Toronto: p. 83 et seq.

Western Transportation Company, The Hudson's Bay Company, and the North West Navigation Company. There was one independent firm, The Great Grandin Farm Company. Its headquarters were located thirty miles north of Fargo. It had one steamer, The Grandin.

The Kittson Company confined its earliest activities to the Red River where, in 1878, it owned and operated the paddle steamers Manitoba, Dakota, Selkirk, Minnesota and fourteen barges which had a capacity of 1,800 tons.

The Winnipeg and Western Transportation Company operated boats on the Assiniboine and lower Red River. Its paddle steamers were the Alpha, the City of Winnipeg and the Cheyenne on the lower Assiniboine and the lower Red. The Swallow, Prince Rupert, Keewatin, Ellen and an unnamed new steamer plied only the lower Red. By 1878 this company had a large boat on Lake Manitoba.

The Hudson's Bay Company, in the early days, had the S. S. Colville on Lake Winnipeg. It carried freight and passengers to the northwest shore of Lake Winnipeg where the company constructed a railway across the portage, linking Lake Winnipeg with the Saskatchewan River above Grand Rapids.[1] This was about 1877. The Northcote and the Lily then plied the Saskatchewan River. The Hudson's Bay Company also had on the lake route a barge called the "Maggie," and a river wharf boat called the "Chief Commissioner."

The Department of Agriculture report for 1882 mentions the North West Navigation Company as owning two flat bottomed stern wheelers on the lower Assiniboine. These, the report gives as the Marquette and the Alpha. Both these boats ascended the Assiniboine to Fort Ellice in July 1879.

As the railroad came north from Emerson to St. Boniface in 1878, there was a tendency for the steamboat companies to seek passengers and freight in the lower and (as the C.P.R. was built to Brandon) in the upper Assiniboine and North Saskatchewan River. Thus in the spring of 1879—the year following the founding of Rapid City—we find Captain Webber of the Marquette at what he then called "Rapid City Landing," and what was later called Currie's Landing.

[1]Northern Manitoba.

He made a thorough examination of the "Rapids," above the "Landing," and decided to attempt their ascent on his next trip from Winnipeg if he could secure freight. The Hudson's Bay Company quickly furnished the latter and Webber reached Fort Ellice in July 1879. His example was soon followed by the Alpha.

Of the Assiniboine, north of Fort Ellice, little was known in 1879, but the American boat "Manitoba" decided to make the trip to Fort Pelly in July 1881.[1] The 120 mile voyage was quite a success as only one sand bar raised a minor difficulty. As the railway advanced the steamers withdrew in good order to the Mississippi. One shipwreck occurred. The "Alpha"[2] was caught in the ice at Brandon in the late fall of 1882, and there disintegrated.

The Assiniboine boats were no cockle shells. The Lily weighed 100 tons. The Manitoba was 175 tons and carried 300 passengers. The Northcote was the same weight but carried 400 passengers. The Northwest was 220 tons.

An extract from the "Report of the Department of Agriculture, Manitoba, 1882" gives an insight into the rise and decline of the river traffic.

"Large quantities of freight and a considerable number of passengers were carried to points not served by the railway, between Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie and Brandon, and between Brandon and Fort Pelly. On this route the Northwest Navigation Company has two boats, the Marquette and the Alpha, both flat bottomed stern wheelers drawing from eighteen to twenty-six inches of water. The Marquette is 170 tons burden, has a crew of fifteen with cabin accommodation for fifty passengers. Her trips from Winnipeg to Fort Ellice average a week, the round trip being made in twelve days. During the greater part of the season which closed earlier than usual owing to the low stage of the water, the Marquette only went as far west as Brandon the upper portion of the river being navigated by the Alpha, eighty tons burden with a crew of nine and accommodation for 20 cabin passengers. The Alpha made one trip up stream to Fort Pelly but for the balance of the season ran only to Strathallan at the confluence of the Qu'Appelle and the Assiniboine Rivers."

On July 15, 1882, the Governor General issued an order limiting the number of passengers carried by the Manitoba to 300, the Marquette to 350 and the Alpha to 250. (It is interesting to read that in those early days freight, especially

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[1] See below Appendix XVII for description of this trip.
[2] John A. McDonald, a prominent Brandon pioneer merchant, noticed the SS. Alpha moored at Sixth Street, Brandon, on his arrival, April, 1882.

lumber, sometimes was carried from Lake Manitoba via the
White Mud River to Westbourne and thence by the Assini-
boine to Portage la Prairie or Brandon.)

Life on the Old Stern Wheeler

These stern wheelers were at least 200 feet long and 30
to 40 feet wide, and drew two or three feet of water. They
were built so that they could float over sand bars with the aid
of poles and donkey engines. The fuel was cord wood logs.
Each steamer had plenty of accommodation for the railway
navvy, the Chinaman, the Swede and Metis. Many a game
of chance and poker whiled away the hours.

The upper deck was given to more genteel passengers. It
held cabins and dining rooms well peopled with fur traders,
prospectors and business forerunners of those who build a
continental railway.

The voyage from Winnipeg to Brandon or Grand Valley
took at least three days. The tedium of day time travel be-
came an adventure when passengers could alight at certain
points and walk overland to the next stop whilst the steamer
circumnavigated a loop in the Assiniboine.

The dreariness of night-time travel was made somewhat
romantic as one listened to the "leadman" and the "lookout"
repeat hour after hour "three feet"—"six feet" "no bottom"
and cable and drum ceased to rattle as the boat slid into
deep water.

Currie's Ferry

About eight miles southeast of Brandon, in the spring of
1880, a young man named William Currie, who was born
near Toronto in 1834 and who came west to Rapid City in
1879, took up a homestead. This quarter section, which was
the northeast quarter of section 2, township 10, range 18,
W.1, had the Assiniboine flowing through it. As its banks
were fairly steep and as at one place the river had a decline of
about ten feet in four hundred yards Currie decided to pur-
chase the adjoining section and to establish a ferry. To set up
a ferry "two dead men," consisting of two logs, were buried
deeply in each bank. To these were attached wires for a
pulley and a scow. As the Currie farm house, sheds and barn

were on the north of the river the ferry was operated from that side. The year was 1880. The ferry continued in operation till 1892.

Rapid City Landing—Currie's Landing

As the boats ascended the river from Winnipeg with lumber, flour, agricultural implements and miscellaneous freight, it was sometimes found necessary to unload the cargo. A simple platform or landing place was built on the north side of the river about fifty yards from Currie's Ferry. Thus arose Currie's Landing. To accommodate the freight a warehouse was built and a store was established. Goods were often shipped by ox cart or horse-drawn wagon from Currie's Landing to Rapid City, Fort Ellice and even Edmonton.

Currie's Rapids

The "Rapids" on the Assiniboine, nearly half a mile west of Currie's Landing were difficult of navigation. To get the flat bottomed stern wheelers across the "waterfalls" was often a matter of some difficulty. The following was the procedure. A "dead man" was buried in the north bank above the rapids. To this "dead man" a rope was attached. Each boat carried a donkey engine which could wind a rope on a drum. When a boat wished to ascend the river the "dead man's" rope was attached to the drum, the engine was set in motion and as the rope was wound up the boat perforce made the ascent of the rapids. In 1880 when the rope was new little difficulty was experienced, but in subsequent years as the rope became frayed it often broke and caused delay. Once the S.S. "Alpha" was held up for four days.

McVicar's Ferry and McVicar's Landing

The need of a ferry was also felt in the vicinity of Grand Valley. Dougall McVicar established one in 1880. The ferry man was George Ferrier from Strabane, Ontario. A landing was established on the north bank close to the ferry. Here, as at "Currie's Landing," freight was unloaded from the boats and stored and transhipped by Red River cart or wagon to Minnedosa and Rapid City.

The Brandon Ferry

Brandon's Ferry, in 1881, was the only connecting link between the north and south banks of the Assiniboine. The "dead men" were buried in the river bank approximately where the north end of the present dam is located, and on the south side somewhat east of the south end of the dam. Traffic from the north side approached the ferry through Assiniboine Park, where the road can still be seen. The first ferry man was Harry Koester. The boats which ascended the river landed their passengers and freight on the south shore opposite Fifth Street.

For those whose interest in river transportation in the eighties is more than ordinary we have placed in Appendix XVII an article culled from the Manitoba Free Press of July 18, 1881. The article is entitled "Paddled to Pelly," It gives an almost hour by hour description of a voyage to Fort Pelly. Many readers would, however, prefer at this stage to study the first steps taken in the setting up of civic administration in the West after the prairies were opened to colonization. Chapter XX describes such matters.

CHAPTER XX

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The boundaries of Manitoba at various dates. Electoral divisions, mun-
cipalities and counties. Special counties. First provincial elections in Bran-
don. The first county council. How was Brandon administered between May
24, 1881, and May 30, 1882. The first municipal elections in Brandon.

THE BOUNDARIES of our present Province of Manitoba were
not always as present outlined. They have changed a good
deal since 1870, when they were first arranged. The northern
boundary was then 50° 30′ North Latitude; South the 49th
parallel, West 99th meridian and East the 96th meridian.
The original area of Manitoba was 14,340 square miles.

Scarcely eleven years (1881) had elapsed when it was
decided to enlarge the Province. By Chapter fourteen of 44
Victoria—a Dominion Act—new territory was added. The
northern boundary became 52° 51′ North Latitude; the
southern remained at 49°; the western was approximately
101° 25′ West Longitude, the eastern 95° 9′ West Longitude.
The area was now increased to 73,956 square miles. It will
be noticed that the western boundary was moved from De
Winton half a mile east of Carberry to near the Saskatche-
wan border, and hence Brandon became, for the first time,
part of Manitoba. The Province was to wait till 1912 before
it extended its limits northward to the 60th parallel and
the Hudson Bay and westward to 101° 22′ approximately.
The eastern boundary was then fixed at 95° West Longitude.

As the provincial area of Brandon's early days was inter-
mediate between the "Second Size" stage and our present
246,512 square miles extent, it is well to keep this fact in
mind during the following pages.

When the new territory was added to the "postage stamp"
province, it was found necessary to establish machinery to
aid in the political life of the new addition. Chapter XII of
the Statutes of Manitoba for 1881 sets up the new electoral
divisions. They were six in number, viz., Turtle Mountain,
Brandon, Minnedosa, Birtle, Dauphin, and Rat Portage.
The latter which is Kenora, Ontario, was listed tenta-
tively in Manitoba till the matter was ultimately decided in
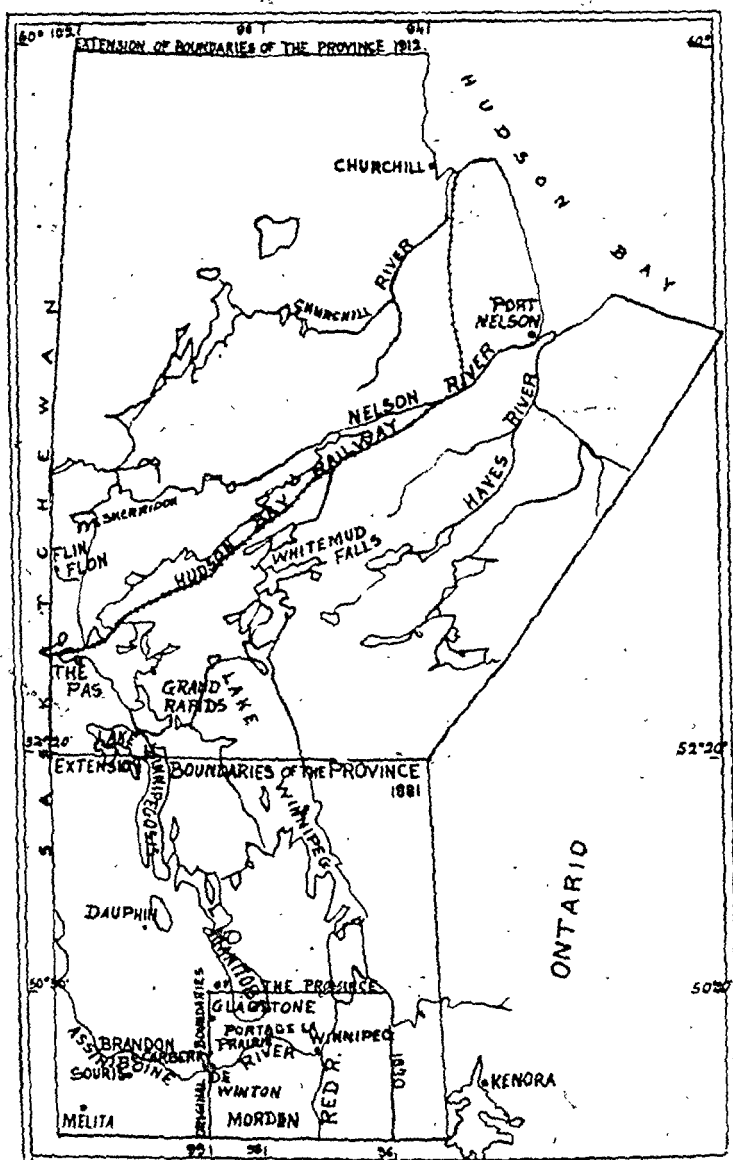
CHART XVII

This chart shows stages in the growth of the Province of Manitoba.

Ontario's favour. Brandon's inclusion interests us. The new
Brandon Electoral division (No. 26) extended over "town-
ships 7 to 12, ranges 13 to 29, both inclusive." The legisla-

tion was assented to May 25, 1881. This seems to be the first time the name Brandon was used in legal documents.[1]

Chapter XIII of these 1881 statutes also set up municipal government in the "added territory." "No. 35 or Brandon (municipality) shall comprise all the townships from 7 to 12 inclusive in ranges 16 to 22 West, inclusive."

The legislation embodied in Chapter XIV of these statutes for 1881 needs an introduction to present day Manitobans because of the introduction of the term "County." In the revised statutes of Manitoba 1880, Chapter II, Section 3, the tiny province was divided into five counties, namely Selkirk, Provencher, Lisgar, Marquette East, and Marquette West. On May 25, 1881, the extended Manitoba was also divided into counties:

"The county of Brandon shall comprise townships 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. ranges 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 West."

A Manitoba act of 1883 adds the City of Brandon to the above county. (Brandon city did not exist as a separate entity in 1881, hence omission when the county was established.)

The word "county," in 1881, meant a group of municipalities united for a purpose. It is quite definite, however, that Brandon county and Brandon municipality in 1881 covered the same territory, viz., townships 7 to 12; and ranges 16 to 22. The 1884 act mentions for the first time the municipalities, viz., Oakland, Glenwood, Whitehead, Cornwallis, Elton, Daly and the City of Brandon as forming the county of that name.

Chapter XIV of the Manitoba Statutes for 1881 states that "For the purposes of this act, the counties shall be grouped for county purposes and for convenience for registration and the holding of *county court* or other county purpose as follows "Counties numbered 22, 23, 24, 25 (which were the counties of Brandon, Turtle Mountain, Souris River and Denis) shall comprise and be known as the County of Brandon." From this legislation arises our term "Brandon County Court"—the "County Court Judge," etc. As Bran-

[1]The name "Brandon" is of frequent occurrence. An examination of atlases reveals twenty. The list, with the population in brackets, is as follows: Brandon, Colo. (112); Brandon, La. (324); Brandon, Ky. (12); Brandon, Minn. (345); Brandon, Mo. (1,184); Brandon, Neb. (35); Brandon, N.Y., Brandon, Pa., Brandon, S. Dakota (168); Brandon, Tex. (236); Brandon, Vt. (2,979); Brandon, W. Suffolk, Eng. (5,768); Brandon, Wis. (708); Brandon Bay, Kerry, Eire, Brandon Head, Kerry, Eire, Brandon Hill, Ireland, Brandon and Byshottles, Durham, Eng. (20,150); Brandon Creek, Norfolk, Eng., Brandonville, Pa. (256); Brandon, Virginia, U.S.A.

don had its county and municipal arrangement, the question then arises, when did the first provincial election for the Brandon Electoral division, which was larger than the County, take place? When was the County of Brandon's first municipal election held?

The First Election for the Provincial Legislature

As a result of the extension of the province and the consequent legislation, setting up the electoral divisions for the added territory, it was compulsory to hold an election for the Manitoba Provincial Legislature within three months after the Governor General's proclamation declaring the Dominion Act (Chapter 14 of 44 Victoria) in force. An election was held in the five new electoral divisions on November 2, 1881. Each of the divisions are here given because they were the first elections in "the added territory." The number of votes each candidate secured is also shown.

Brandon—J. W. Sifton 308; C. R. Tuttle 265; R. W. Rogers 149; R. W. Currie 119; W. J. Graham 35; W. G. Rogers 25.

Birtle—Stephen Clement 138; C. W. Cummings 127; C. A. Boulton 115; E. P. Leacock 86.

Dauphin—J. A. Davidson 148; P. St. Clair McGregor 97.

Minnedosa—John Crerar 407; Dr. Cornell 387.

Turtle Mountain—J. P. Alexander 102; J. C. Waugh 93.

Judicial Districts

In the session following this election the Province was divided into three judicial districts, Eastern, Central and Western. Mr. Stephen Clement, the member for Birtle, was appointed to the Shrievality of the Western Judicial District, with headquarters at Brandon. The consequence was, Clement's retirement. A new election was held in Birtle on September 1, 1882.

Brandon's Second Provincial Election

The second election for the Provincial Legislature was held on January 23, 1883. The contestants were J. E. Woodworth and J. W. Sifton. The former secured 859 votes to Sifton's 651. Woodworth thus became Brandon's second provincial legislative member.

Brandon's First County Council Election

By the legislation of May 25, 1881, the county of Brandon and Brandon Municipality, were provided with the machinery for municipal government. The territory covered about 1,296 square miles. It was two years before it would be subdivided into six component municipalities of Daly, Elton, Whitehead, Cornwallis, Glenwood and Oakland. It was one year before Brandon's city limits would be defined and the city given a charter. How was this county to be governed? How was its territory to be divided in a representative county council?

The answer was simple. The county was divided into six wards corresponding to the municipalities set up in 1884. Each ward was represented by a councillor. A warden took the place of a reeve. Appointive offices were those of Clerk and Treasurer (combined) and a Solicitor. The Manitoba Gazette for October 29, 1881, contains a proclamation establishing January 3, 1882, as the date for holding an election for added territory for Warden and Councillors for Brandon No. 35. Office holders selected, who ruled the village of Brandon as part of the county till May, 1882, were: Mr. George Roddick, Warden; Mr. W. R. Lundy, Councillor Ward 1; Mr. Harrison, Ward 2; Mr. Laird, Ward 3; Mr. Evans, Ward 4; Mr. Taylor, Ward 5; Mr. Hetherington, Ward 6; John Weatherill, Clerk and Treasurer; Mr. W. A. MacDonald, Solicitor.

First Dominion Elections

The addition of territory to Manitoba, in 1881, gave the added territory a senator. This was Honourable John Christian Schultz, Winnipeg. An election for the Dominion House of Commons was held June 27, 1882. Brandon was in the Dominion Electoral Division of Selkirk which consisted of the municipalities of Rhineland, N. Dufferin, S. Dufferin, Lorne, Louise, Argyle, Derby, Brandon, Turtle Mountain, Denis, and Souris.

Brandon had two booths, in which it polled 271 for Hugh Sutherland and 248 for Stewart Mulvey. Sutherland won the election by a majority of 423 for the whole division.

CHAPTER XXI

FIRST ACTIVITIES OF BRANDON COUNTY
COUNCIL

A CURSORY glance through the pages of the *Manitoba Gazette* for the years 1881 and 1882, shows the gradual building up of government in western Manitoba. Often the events announced or proclaimed were *fait accompli* before their publication. The edition for August 10, 1881, published the Dominion and Provincial Acts extending the Province westward and, as we have seen, setting up electoral divisions, counties and municipalities. The August 27 edition dealt with the appointment of Martin McDonald to the post of Registrar for the Registration Division of the Counties of Brandon No. 22, Turtle Mountain No. 23, Souris River No. 24, and Denis No. 25. It also stated that Loftus M. Fortier was created an issuer of marriage licenses. The September 7 number made the announcement that the Protestant Section of the Manitoba Board of Education had established a School District at Brandon. Liberty, as it were, was slowly becoming effective. On November 19, John W. Sifton became officially provincial member of the legislature for Brandon electoral division. Each proclamation of a department of government was followed in logical sequence by the appointment of executive officers, thus the Judicial Registration District of the County of Brandon was announced on December 7, and Alfred P. Stuart was appointed as Registrar from January 1, 1882, John O'Flynn was named as Provincial Constable in Brandon County, and John Strachan a Justice of the Peace, and John McCort, a bailiff for the same area. The logical outcome of the County Council elections was the swearing-in ceremony and the holding of the first meeting of that body. The induction took place on Monday, January 9, 1882, at 11 a.m., at the office of Thomas Mayne Daly. The latter was the returning officer at the elections. His office was on Rosser Avenue's south side between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. The first formal meeting of the council took place at the "Kelly House"[1] which was

located on the west side of Sixth Street between Rosser and Princess Avenues. The meeting was called to order at 1 p.m. by Warden George Roddick. As the report of this first meeting has an intrinsic historical value and may serve as a study in civics, the report ordered sent to the newspapers is reproduced below.

(The Winnipeg Daily Times, January 13, 1882)

BRANDON COUNTY COUNCIL HOLDS ITS FIRST MEETING

The warden and councillors elect for the county of Brandon met at 11 a.m. on Monday the 9th instant at the office of T. M. Daly, returning officer, and after being duly sworn in proceeded to Kelly's Hotel where the first meeting took place.

The Council assembled at 1 p.m. Present, the warden, Geo. Roddick, councillors—Lundy, Harrison, Laird, Evans, Taylor and Hetherington.

The warden delivered a short address dwelling on the responsibility the council of a county like Brandon had to assume.

Moved Mr. Harrison and seconded by Mr. Taylor, that Mr. Evans act as clerk pro tem. until a permanent one should be appointed. Carried.

The following communications were received from J. Weatherill applying for the position of clerk; from E. Hughes applying for the position of clerk and treasurer; from T. M. Daly recommending the application of E. Hughes for clerk; from R. Z. Rogers asking that the council assume the ownership of the bridge he had built across the Souris.

Moved by Mr. Evans, seconded by Mr. Taylor that the council appoint two persons to fill the respective offices of clerk and treasurer. Carried.

Moved by Mr. Taylor, seconded by Mr. Hetherington that the applications for the office of clerk lay over till the next regular meeting. Carried.

Mr. Harrison suggested that the council should decide at once, the salary to be paid each officer so that those applying should govern themselves accordingly.

Mr. Harrison gave notice that at the next regular meeting of the council he would introduce a by-law to govern the proceedings of the board.

Mr. Evans gave notice that at the next regular meeting he would introduce a by-law for the appointment of a clerk and treasurer for the county.

Moved by Mr. Harrison, seconded by Mr. Lundy that the warden and Messrs. Evans and Laird be a committee to provide a suitable room to meet in; also to provide books and stationery for the clerk. Carried.

Mr. Taylor suggested that Mr. Evans should write for copies of the provincial statutes.

Moved by Mr. Lundy, seconded by Mr. Harrison that R. Z. Rogers, being present, he be heard from regarding his bridge across the Souris.

Mr. Rogers then explained that he had built a good bridge across the Souris at Millford, with the assistance of the Government, and if this council

¹Kelly House was demolished in 1935.

would assume ownership of it and keep it in repair, he would surrender any claim he had upon it.

Moved by Mr. Harrison, seconded by Mr. Evans, that the communication be laid on the table for further consideration. Carried.

Moved by Councillor Taylor, seconded by Mr. Evans, that the warden communicate with the local Government with regard to the grant they purpose giving for the bridge of the Souris and other large streams. Carried.

It was suggested by Mr. Harrison that the M.P.P. for the county should have his attention drawn to this matter.

Moved by Mr. Evans, seconded by Mr. Hetherington, that a notice be placed in the different post offices calling for the application for the positions of clerk and treasurer. Carried.

Moved by Mr. Taylor, seconded by Mr. Lundy, that the clerk send a report of this meeting to "The Times" and "Free Press" newspapers, Winnipeg. Carried.

Moved by Mr. Hetherington, seconded by Mr. Evans, that the council do now adjourn till Tuesday the 24th instant, at 2 o'clock p.m.

. R. T. EVANS, clerk pro tem.

At a subsequent meeting John Weatherill became Clerk-treasurer. We find later that he was also appointed by the Provincial Government District Registrar of vital statistics. W. A. MacDonald was selected as solicitor, and since the council was interested in roads and bridges Messrs. Poudrier and Brownlee, were appointed county engineers.

The earliest activities of the council dealt with the raising of money and the building of roads and bridges. A study of the map of south-east Brandon shows how active the council was in this quarter alone in bridge building. By-laws were passed to confirm appointive officers, to borrow money and to raise taxes. Some of the by-laws have come down to us. By-law 8 dealt with the detention of cattle running at large. Number 14 in the very legible script of George Roddick imposed penalties from $2 to $20 on persons who allowed any carcass of an animal to decompose above ground between April 1 and December 1. Another activity of the council was noted in the Gazette for May 6, 1882, namely the setting up of school districts at Northfield, Grand Valley, Millford and Souris City. As the County Council Clerk was in charge of vital statistics, an extract from the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics of Manitoba for 1882, giving the atmosphere of that day, makes interesting reading. It also informs us as to where the council had their meetings. The

report was made by the chief registrar from Winnipeg who was making a tour of inspection.

"Municipality of Brandon—Division Registrar John Weatherill.[1] I called at the Division Registrar's office in the city of Brandon on December 8th, 1882, for the purpose of inspecting it, but was unable to do so, finding that he resided in the country and was only in the city occasionally to transact official business. His office was in premises also occupied by other persons, and a person present informed me that in the absence of the Division Registrar he received entries for registration but as he did not know anything about the whereabouts of the books in which the entries have to be recorded, it appeared to me that but little attention was paid to the matter. I wrote the Division Registrar calling his attention to this. He replied as follows:— "The offices of Messrs. Poudrier and Brownlee, (Molesworth Block, Rosser Avenue), where you had called are the county engineers and not my regular office. The council have not provided me with any regular office. They have provided me with a trunk for papers, etc., which I keep at the Royal Hotel, in which I keep slips for parties I meet in Brandon requiring them. The books I keep at the office of my residence. *The office of Messrs. Poudrier and Brownlee is where the council have had their meetings lately,* and I have kept a few of my papers there together with a few of the vital statistical forms, in case they are called for on Council days. It is sometimes convenient to meet parties at the office on account of being the engineers and parties leave any letters, etc., that are for me in their charge, which I get on Saturday, my regular day for being in Brandon."[2]

A letter of Charles Whitehead, vice-president of the (Provincial) Board of Agriculture, who settled in Brandon in 1881, gives a good general idea of life in the Brandon district in 1881. It was addressed to the Dominion Government Agent in Dublin, Ireland. The time was the autumn of 1882.

"I have located on a farm of 640 acres, two and a half miles south of Brandon, 400 acres of which I have had under cultivation this season. I arrived at the townsite of Brandon on the *29th of May, 1881,* and commenced to break up my land on the 5th of June, doing the most of the work by contract paying $4 per acre for breaking and $3.50 for backsetting, which as you know left it ready for the harrow. I sowed 320 acres of oats, twenty acres of wheat and the balance in roots, etc. I commenced to sow on the 5th of June and to cut on the 26th of August, then continued on till the whole of my wheat and oats were cut this season being late, as you will see from the time I commenced to sow and cut. Seeding time usually begins about 15th April and harvest from 1st to 10th of August. I have up to the present threshed about 14,000 bushels of oats and I find the yield 58 bushels an acre. The wheat will yield 30 bushels an acre. Oats sell very readily at 50 cents a bushel. When I commenced seeding I hired my men

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[1] John Weatherill's farm was east half of section 20, tp. 10, ra. 20, Brandon.
[2] Extract from Report of the Department of Agriculture and STATISTICS of Manitoba, 1882 (published March 31, 1883).

at $26 a month, with board, excepting the harvest month, for which I paid $30 each with board. Extra men for the harvest I paid $2 per day with board. I pay threshers $2.50 per day with board. The labourers building the C. P. Railway get $2.25 per day. There is a good deal of work doing on the streets of Brandon at which labourers are getting $2.50 to $2.75 a day. Their board costs $4.50 to $5 per week. Carpenters are getting from $3 to $4 per day and you have to take off your hat even to them at that. You cannot imagine the hurry and bustle."

SURVEYING, HOMESTEADING, PLANNING
BRANDON—FIRST PRAIRIE CITY

THE FIRST steps in opening a new country are exploration, rough mapping and finally a minute survey which, in the case of a city, is followed by a subdivision into town lots. The survey in the case of the Assiniboine basin took place September and October, 1880; and was conducted for the Dominion Government by Mr. G. B. Abrey, D.L.S., whose name is attached to the township sheets. It might be noted incidentally that in 1879 the survey was well under way to Fort Ellice. We learn this from Dr. Daniel M. Gordon, a Winnipeg cleric who journeyed there in that year. Reverend Mr. Roddick, of Brandon Hills, found his own homestead unsurveyed in 1879.

The site of Brandon village was in township 10, range 19, W.1. A sketch of the area on page 143 serves to show who were first granted titles to the land, and the location of the sections and their quarters.

Section 23, lying between Victoria Avenue on the south, McGregor Avenue on the north, First Street on the east, and Eighteenth Street on the west had as its first title holder Arthur Wellington Ross, M.P.L., a Winnipeg barrister who secured his title from the Department of the Interior at Ottawa, May 9, 1881.

The first settler on this section was D. H. Adamson who, as far as can be ascertained, made no formal entry for the land, and possibly had no right in law, beyond squatter's rights, to the property.

A. W. Ross of Ross, Killam and Haggart, Attorneys and Solicitors, 398 Main Street, Winnipeg, had an agreement April 27, 1881, with this D. H. Adamson. There was a consideration mentioned in the agreement whereby Adamson abandoned all claim to section 23, provided Ross would hold a one-seventh interest for him after conveying to the Canadian Pacific Railway the portion of said section required by the railway company.

Between May 9, 1881, when A. W. Ross secured the title, and May 30 of that year, the title was vested in Ross's hands. On the latter date one finds A. W. Ross and his wife transferring the title through John B. McKilligan, attorney and realtor of the same business address (398 Main Street, Winnipeg) to Alpheus B. Stickney, gentleman and General Manager of the C.P.R., for $2,560. Mr. A. B. Stickney in turn transferred the title on October 17, 1881, to the C.P.R. for $1. The railway company, to make matters doubly secure, obtained a quit claim from D. H. Adamson for section 23 on November 21, 1881. The consideration was $1. When we have studied the ownership of the other sections we will return to subdivide section 23.

Possession of section 23 was not assumed by the Syndicate without opposition. In the column "Railway Ripples" of the Manitoba Free Press, June 9, 1881, we find the following:

BRANDON. . . . "a number of settlers, who claim the land upon which the Syndicate has been located have taken possession of the townsite of the above named burg, and are ploughing up the land and pulling up the survey posts. Mounted police are called out to watch their interests. A deputation has gone to Winnipeg to wait upon the Syndicate to negotiate for a settlement for the lands claimed by them. A "Free Press" representative asked Mr. Stickney for an explanation of the position. Mr. Stickney said he had been aware for some days that a Mr. Adamson of Gordon Adamson & Company, bankers of this city (Winnipeg) was claiming the land comprising Brandon townsite, but there could be no trouble about the matter. He said Mr. Adamson had squatted on section 23 some six weeks ago though the Dominion Lands' Regulations distinctly state that the uneven sections are not open for homesteading, but for sale only. Mr. A. W. Ross received a patent from the Crown for the whole section on May 9, 1881, and conveyed to Mr. Stickney for the C.P.R. Mr. Stickney signed all deeds for the C.P.R. and he said there was no doubt about the ownership of the land. He did not think Mr. Adamson would make any further effort, as his son had sent him an intimation that the Government had patented the land to Mr. Ross."

Section 13

The land immediately south of Victoria Avenue was divided into sections 13, 14 and 15. Section 13 lying between Victoria Avenue and Wellington Avenue, and between First and Seventeenth Street East was first owned by a variety of interests. The northwest quarter, on part of which St. Michael's Academy now stands, was first owned but not re-
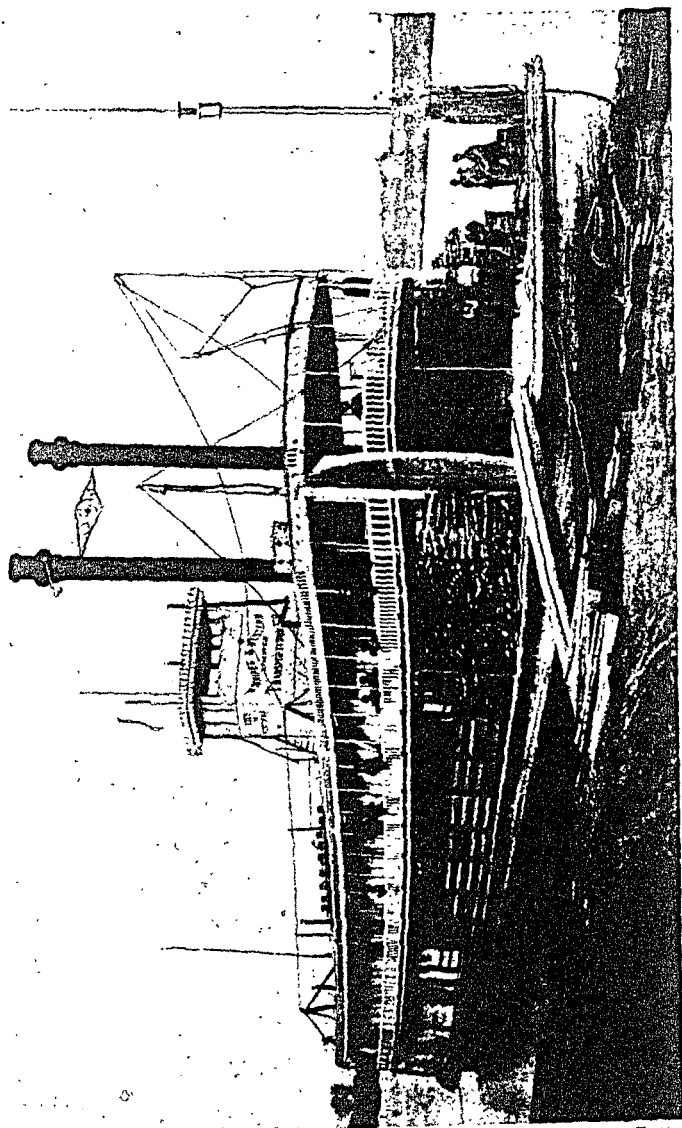
"The City of Winnipeg"—Winnipeg & Western Transportation Company.

An early picture of a Brandon County Council. (Possibly 1884).
Reading from left to right.
Front row: 1, Reeve Steele, of Glenwood; 2, W. A. MacDonald, County
Solicitor—later British Columbia Judge; 3, Reeve Hannah, of White-
head (Munic); 4, J. Weatherill, Clerk; 5, J. H. Brownlee, County
Engineer.
Back row: 1, Reeve Petit (Daly); 2, Reeve Clegg (Elton); 3, Reeve White-
head, of Cornwallis.

The first store erected in Brandon, June 12, 1881. It was built on a free
lot and faced Pacific Avenue at the southeast corner of Sixth Street.
Coombs and Stewart later opened a store at the northeast corner of
Rosser Avenue and Ninth Street.

BRANDON CITY'S FIRST LANDOWNERS

Sketch shows sections in township 10, range 19, W.1, on which Brandon city is built. Sketch also shows dates on which the crown granted titles, except in case of section 24, which shows date of taking possession.
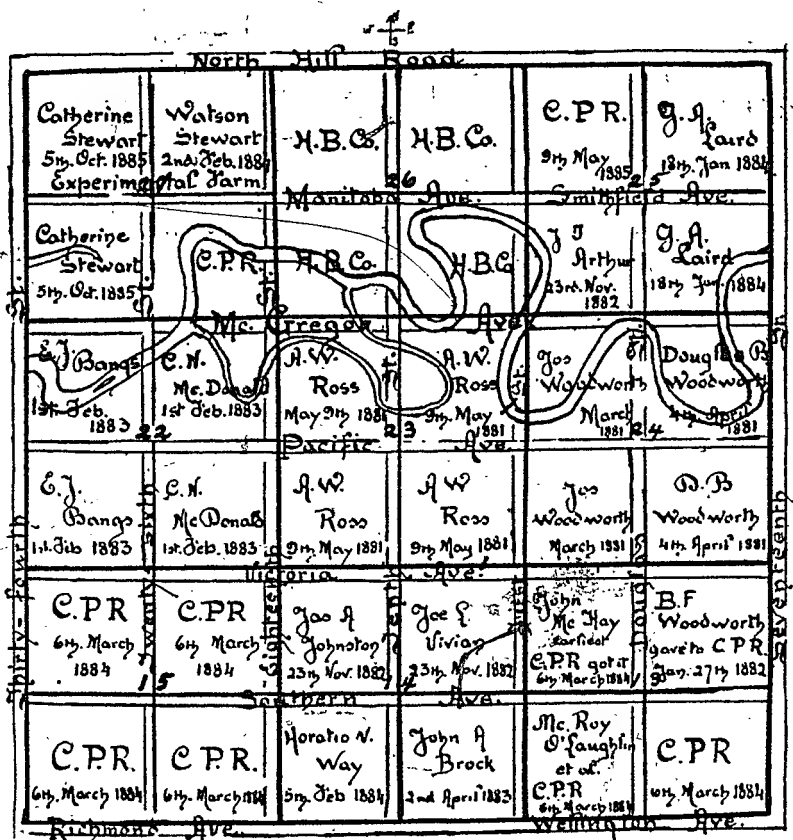
CHART XVIII

A homesteader entered for land by making application to the Dominion Government—by paying a fee of $10, and undertaking to make certain improvements. At the end of three years he could secure his title. A pre-emption was the option to buy a neighbouring quarter section, generally at $1 per acre. Sometimes land was purchased outright from the government without the improvement being made before the title was secured. This happened in the case of some of the land on which Brandon is built.

VI

gistered in the name of John McKay. The C.P.R. secured title from the Crown on March 6, 1884.

The northeast quarter of section 13 in the vicinity of King George's School was originally the property of B. F. Douglas et al. The C.P.R. received a quit claim from him on January 27, 1882.

The southwest quarter of this section which was in the possession of Mac Roy O'Loughlin et al. was secured by the C.P.R., March 6, 1884. On the same date the railway company got title to the southeast quarter of thirteen.

Section 14

Section 14 lay between Victoria Avenue and Richmond Avenue and First and Eighteenth Streets. The northeast quarter of this land was first sought in the name of Joseph L. Vivian, on November 23, 1882. His claims were unsuccessfully disputed by J. Calloway and others but Johnston secured title December 16, 1882. The Canadian National Yards are situated in a portion of the territory.

The northwest quarter of section 14 comprising the land between Victoria and Southern Avenues and between Ninth and Eighteenth Streets was registered November 23, 1882, in the name of James A. Johnston. It later became known as the "Johnston estate."

John A. Brock got title for the southeast quarter of Fourteen from the Crown April 2, 1883. Horatio Nelson Way obtained his patent February 5, 1884, for the southwest quarter of the section. Part of this land is the site of the Exhibition grounds. It was purchased from Horatio Nelson Way by the Agricultural Society as early as 1883 as a site for the Exhibition buildings.

Section 15—West of the Exhibition Grounds

The major portion of section 15 has never been built on. It consists of the fields between Victoria Avenue and Richmond Avenue and between Eighteenth Street and Thirty-fourth Street. The C.P.R. secured its title for all section 15 from the Crown on March 6, 1884.

Brandon College Area

The land west of Eighteenth Street to Thirty-fourth Street and between Victoria Avenue and McGregor Avenue was known as section 22. C. N. McDonald secured his title for the east half on February 1, 1883. The west half was, at the same time, entrusted by the Crown to E. J. Bangs. Both Mr. McDonald and Mr. Bangs received $50,000 for their rights in section 22. The purchaser was A. W. Ross, Barrister and M.P.L., evidently working in the interests of the C.P.R.

North of the Tracks—The Experimental Farm

The land north of section 22, and including the Experimental Farm grounds was numbered section 27. It was early occupied by Catherine Stewart who obtained title from the Crown to the west half on October 5, 1885. The northwest quarter was granted to her brother Watson, February 2, 1884. The quarter section on the "flats" west of Eighteenth Street went to the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The Flats—Section 26

The territory between McGregor Avenue on the south and the Government Road Allowance at the top of the Mental Hospital Hill and between First and Eighteenth Streets was Hudson's Bay Co. land. This company was entitled to one-twentieth of all land in the fertile belt. Their agreement was subsequently modified so that the Company got "the whole of section 8 and three-quarters of section 26 in each township, *except such townships as have numbers divisible by five in which the whole of sections 8 and 26 was awarded.*" Brandon was in township 10—hence all section 26 went to the Company whose House had given its name to the city. A. W. Ross soon purchased the property.

The Mental Hospital Area—Section 25

Section 25 lying between First Street and Seventeenth Street East and between McGregor Avenue and the top of the Mental Hospital Hill had three early proprietors, viz., G. A. Laird who on June 18, 1884, secured title from the Crown for the whole east half of the section, the C.P.R.,

which on May 9, 1885, secured title to the northwest quarter where the Hospital Buildings are and J. T. Arthur, who on November 23, 1882, secured title to the southwest quarter just south of Smithfield Avenue.

The East End—Section 24

The east end of Brandon was the happy hunting grounds of Joseph E. Woodworth. The date of his arrival on the townsite and the terms of his title are obtainable from the following quotation from a document in which he grants certain lots to General Rosser for $20,000.[1]

"Whereas Joseph E. Woodworth hath resided on the northwest and southwest quarters of Section 24 Tp. 10 Ra. 19 W. 1 since March, 1881, and hath built houses and ploughed and seeded thirty acres and on 18th July, 1881, hath obtained an entry in the Dominion Land office for a homestead and pre-emption for the said lands, he now makes over to T. L. Rosser certain lands for $20,000."

Thus Woodworth secured all the land east of First Street and lying between Victoria Avenue and McGregor Avenue. It included the C.P.R. yards and the land immediately north of them. Joe Woodworth, who only remained in Brandon about four years, hardly hoped that one day his lands would harbour Earl Haig School, St. Mary's Anglican Church, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, a Lutheran Church, the C.P.R. Yards, oil warehouses and the thousands of buildings between First and Douglas St. Mr. Woodworth was not satisfied with half of section 24, he saw to it that his brother should secure the east half.

Practically all the Brandon lands mentioned were secured by homesteading. McDonald and Bangs were the only ones who secured good prices. D. H. Adamson, the squatter on section 23, probably received $350 for his rights.

The first registrar, who entered these and similar details in the books of the Land Titles Office, was Martin McDonald. On March 16, 1881, he was registrar at Turtle Mountain Office near Deloraine, Manitoba. On July 2, 1881, he transferred his activities to Brandon where he, as registrar, must have been a very busy man for some time. The Registration of Lands Office became a Dominion Land Titles Office about July 29, 1889.

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[1]Rosser made approximately $10,000 on his investment.

The Planning of a Prairie City

After the initial survey was completed it soon became evident from the activities of J. W. Vaughan of the Winnipeg surveying firm of Vaughan, Dennis and Company, that a townsite was in contemplation for section 23, which is now Brandon's most important residential and commercial section. Vaughan was commissioned shortly after May 9, 1881, to subdivide this portion of land into avenues, streets, blocks and lots. As the survey was proceeding pegs, tapes and stakes marked the subdivisions, but eventually a permanent map of each area was registered at the Land Registry Office, which was opened recently in the village.

The surveys of Brandon were registered at various dates as "plans." Each plan was numbered. It indicated the locality surveyed, the name of the surveyor in charge, the owner who caused the work to be done, and the time the task was completed.

Plan I dealt with the north end of the city. It was made for A. W. Ross, and registered August 10, 1881. This plan was displaced January 30, 1882, by plan XII.

Plan II (section 23) was made by Vaughan, between May 9 and August 2, 1881. We shall see later that lots were being sold while the survey was under way.

Plan III was made for Millford, a town which then existed near the Souris mouth.

Plan IV was outlined for Joseph E. Woodworth. It covered the lands east of First Street.

Plans V and VI were made respectively for Souris city, (section 16, 17, township 7, range 17, W.1) which was not our modern Souris, and for Chater.

Plan VII was made on January 30, 1882, by G. W. Phillips. It covered the lands owned by Mr. Brock in the south end.

Plan VIII covered the lands in the vicinity of the Canadian National Railway yards. It was ordered by Joseph Vivian, surveyed by G. W. Phillips and registered January 13, 1882.

Plan IX covered the district round St. Michael's Academy, and the General Hospital. J. W. Vaughan made the map which he registered February 11, 1882.

Plan X was for the land in the neighbourhood of King George's School. Mr. Vaughan registered his work for the Canadian Pacific Railway on February 18, 1882.

Plan XI, which mapped the area round Earl Oxford School, was also done by Vaughan for the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Plan XII was section 26, north of the Assiniboine River.

Plan XIII shows how blocks were numbered. Beginning at the northwest corner of the intersection of First Street by Victoria Avenue the blocks

were numbered proceeding west 1 to 17. Number 18 was just north of 17 and number 34 was north of number 1, and so on till the blocks were completed. Block 29, which was the subject matter of Plan 13, was located between Louise Avenue and Lorne Avenue, and between Sixth St. and Seventh St. It was owned by W. J. White, A. Sifton and E. Winter, and was surveyed by A. L. Poudrier, D.L.S.

Plans XIV and XV completed the first surveys of the southwest quarter of section 13, now known as "Little England Area," and all section 22 which extended west of Eighteenth Street. The work was ordered by Neil McDonald and completed by J. W. Vaughan.

Plan XVI was made by Archie Phillips, D.L.S. for James A. Johnston on July 10, 1882. It was the area called the "Johnston Estate" south of Victoria between Ninth Street and Eighteenth Street.

Plan XVII was the work of Silas James, D.L.S. It was part of the land south of Earl Oxford School. The survey was made for C. B. Dundas, July 18, 1882.

Plan XVIII mapped out block 96 on the south bank of the Assiniboine between Fifth Street and the river. Mr. A. Fisher had the map made because his mill stood there. The work was done by A. L. Poudrier, May 31, 1882.

Plan XIX was arranged by I. S. Dennis, D.L.S. It covered blocks 90 and 91 west of Eighteenth Street, on E. J. Bang's property. The work was completed October 23, 1882.

Plan XX was the work of G. B. Dempster, D.L.S. He surveyed the land in the vicinity of the Exhibition Grounds on June 14, 1884, for Nickol and others.

Each plan in its own way provides the basis of the city's first map. Other plans have since been made, but they have not yet secured the interest of time.

Several problems of a minor nature must have presented themselves to the surveyors, viz., the measurements of the lots and blocks, and the width of the streets and avenues. Another problem was the naming of the thoroughfares, and eventually the naming of the new townsite. The making of the avenues and streets takes precedence. It was decided to run the former west from First Street, and to make each of them sixty-six feet wide, except Victoria Avenue, which was left at ninety-nine feet because it would make a "through thoroughfare," and it was a road allowance.

The streets were surveyed at sixty-six feet. First and Eighteenth Streets, which were road allowances, were left ninety-nine feet in width.

Each block in the centre of the city was settled at 256 feet east and west inclusive of sixteen feet for lanes, which ran north and south in the middle of each block. The block had

500 feet street frontage. All the lots in the subdivision had each twenty-five feet frontage on the street, with 120 feet depth extending to the lane. This resulted in twenty twenty-five feet lots on each side of a street. Other subdivisions were later made to secure frontages on certain avenues. These were private departures from the original survey which still holds after sixty-five years. A minor variation is the fact that the lanes in the west and east end of the city are twenty feet wide instead of sixteen feet. This discrepancy resulted in eight blocks between Eighteenth and Twenty-sixth Streets, Twenty-sixth and Thirty-fourth Streets, West, and between First Street and Douglas Street, and between Douglas and Seventeenth Street East, instead of the usual number of eight and one-half blocks found in the central portion of the city between First and Eighteenth Streets.

The naming of Brandon's thoroughfares shows how necessary it is for the safe keeping of records. Due to their absence this account of the street names is somewhat fragmentary. The first avenue next the road allowance on the north hill was named after J. W. Vaughan, the Winnipeg Land Surveyor. The next is Sabel Avenue. The only record of Sabel is that N. T. Sabel owned lots 31 and 32, block 40, on the Woodworth estate. Ross Avenue acquired its name from A. W. Ross, LL.B., M.P.P., who purchased scetions 23 and 26, and turned the former over to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Dufferin Avenue very likely got its name from the memory of the Marquis of Dufferin (1826-1902), who was Governor General of Canada from 1872-1878. The marquis, who was an Irish peer, was a relative of Brindsley Sheridan, the Irish playwright who, at one time, owned Drury Lane theatre. Manitoba, Brandon and River Avenues are names which require no comment. Smithfield Avenue, which is an easterly continuation of Manitoba Avenue might be due to someone's hope that it would one day become the rival of Smithfield Markets in London, England.

John Avenue was named in honour of John McGregor, a brother of James Duncan McGregor, who became Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba on January 25, 1929. McGregor Avenue was named after the same person. Hilton Avenue was named after Hilton McGregor, the son of the

Lieutenant Governor. The lands in the vicinity of these avenues were once known as "McGregor's Pastures." Maple Avenue, Assiniboine Avenue and Pacific Avenue are names which explain themselves. McDonald Avenue very likely received its name from Martin McDonald, the registrar at the Land Titles Office, in 1881. It is possible, however, that it may be derived from W. A. MacDonald, Attorney, who had his place of business on the north side of Rosser Avenue between Ninth and Tenth Streets. In a picture of Rosser Avenue showing among other places "The New Era" cigar store in 1882, W. A. MacDonald is the person standing on the right of the photo. He migrated to British Columbia and became a Supreme Court Judge there.

Stickney Avenue received its name from Alpheus B. Stickney, who was General Manager of the C.P.R. in 1881. He was replaced on January 1, 1882, by Van Horne whose name was bestowed on another avenue in the south of the city.

Rosser Avenue was named after Thomas L. Rosser, C.E., the Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1881-1886). All his documents give his address as No. 2 Garry Street, Winnipeg, but he later retired to Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.

The names of Princess *Louise,* daughter of Queen *Victoria,* and her husband the Marquis of *Lorne,* are happily combined in Princess, Lorne, Louise and Victoria, and McTavish Avenues. College, Park, Southern, Brandon and Queen's are self-explanatory. Hill possibly received its title from the great Canadian-U.S.A. railroad builder of that name. Brock Avenue reminds us that John A. Brock owned this land prior to 1883.

The avenue names in the extreme southeast of the city have a typical American flavour—Hawthorne, a poet, Madison, a president, Lexington, a battle, and Clark, a democratic leader. Of the name Spadina, nothing is known. Aagaard Avenue received its name from a restaurant proprietor who once owned the site of the Oak Theatre. Richmond commemorates a place on the Thames River in England. Wellington was the Irish general who conquered Napoleon. Seven streets east of First Street have personal names. There is no data on which to base a conjecture as to origin of

Frederick and Percy. They may possibly belong to the surveyors who mapped the area. Dennis and Russell Streets received their names from surveyors, and Franklin Street from Mr. Franklin, a C.P.R. official. Park is self-explanatory. Rideau Street could refer to Rideau Lake or Rideau River near Ottawa.[1] Either Douglas Woodworth, son of Joseph Woodworth, or Douglas the brother of the same person, gave his name to Douglas Street.

[1]Joseph Woodworth originally emigrated from Rideau, England, to Canada.

CHAPTER XXIII

BRANDON'S FIRST CITIZENS

BRANDON

Acrostic

B orn on the breast of the prairie, she smiles to her sire—the sun,
R obed in the wealth of her wheat-lands, gift of her mothering soil,
A ffluence knocks at her gateways, opulence waits to be won.
N uggets of gold are her acres, yielding and yellow with spoil,
D ream of the hungry millions, dawn of the food-filled age,
O ver the starving tale of want her fingers have turned the page,
N ations will nurse at her storehouse, and God gives her grain for her wage!

E. PAULIN JOHNSON.
(Tekahinwake)

WHEN THE SPRING of 1881 melted the winter snows no sod
was turned to show the foundation of a city. D. H. Adamson,
beginning to find himself "at home" in his new shack near
the present St. Augustine's Church, was the only sign of life
on the future city site. Adamson was soon to have a neigh-
bour. Joseph E. Woodworth signified his intention to the
Government in March, 1881, to qualify for a homestead east
of First Street. Adamson was not quite so wise. His omission
cost him dearly. Woodworth did not take possession of his
lands for some time, however, and thus when J. C. Kavanagh,
the postmaster of Grand Valley, visited section 23 in May,
1881, there was little sign of life except the temporary tent
abode of a Mr. and Mrs. Anderson who were engaged in pre-
paring meals for a Mr. Matheson, a contractor, and a gang of
workmen who were engaged in railway construction. Very
early in May, or possibly in April, A. W. Ross must have con-
tacted D. H. Adamson either personally or by mail, for on
May 9, the former secured his title to section 23. Next came
James A. Johnston and Horatio Nelson Way to enquire at
Roddick's home in Brandon Hills the way to section 25,
township 10, range 20. It is impossible to say if the mistake
in the range was due to incorrect information on their part,
or to a desire to mislead, but as can be seen from the map
both eventually located very close to the townsite.

On May 3, 1881, J. W. Horne, a real estate broker, and at the same time representative of the Manitoba and North-West Mortgage Company, arrived. J. W. Vaughan, the surveyor, came about May 9. He was evidently in the company of Ross or Rosser, for he began his survey immediately. The presence of these men just mentioned indicated that the erection of a townsite was just a matter of days. Charles Pilling, a hotel man, Charles Whitehead, of Whitehead and Myer Lumber Company, William Winter, of Winter and O'Neill grocers, and Dr. Alex Fleming are all listed as coming practically together in late May, 1881.

The city now commenced to go through the tent stage. Lots began to be sold. Possibly the first recorded sale of lots is that of lot 10 in block 1, lot 15 in block 10, and lot 19 in block 55, all in section 23. The sale was made by Alpheus B. Stickney, General Manager of the C.P.R., to J. G. Munsie, Winnipeg Contractor. The contract which was registered at Turtle Mountain Land Titles Office, June 1, 1881, reveals that the purchase price for the three lots was $110. One-third cash was handed over, the balance was to be paid in two instalments, with an interest charge of eight per cent. There was no great land boom at first.

The pioneer grocery store in Brandon was that of Coombs and Stewart, which was erected on a free lot at the northeast corner of Sixth Street and Pacific Avenues. Managed by Mr. Stewart, its wares were first housed in a tent, which was replaced by rough boards when on May 28, 1881, the steamer "North West" arrived from Winnipeg with a load of lumber for Whitehead and Myer, the first lumber merchants.

This first store, which at first opened on Pacific Avenue and later faced west, was replaced by a larger building fifty feet south of the original site. This was occupied on November 15, 1881. William Muir worked in the first grocery store from August 31, 1881, to November 15, 1881.

Owen Carson opened his grocery store at the west side of Sixth Street between Pacific and Rosser Avenues on June 5. He was quickly followed by G. H. Munroe, grocer, who opened beside Carson on his south side.

William Sinkbell was Brandon's premier shoe merchant. His store opened June, 1881, on Ninth Street between

Pacific and Rosser. The need for flour must now have become a dire necessity, hence to supply the need A. Fisher, A. Kelly, W. M. Alexander and R. Sutherland, united in June, 1881, under the name of Fisher Company, to found the Brandon Flouring Mill on the north side of the C.P.R. track, on the river bank near the dam.

To Dr. Alex Fleming goes the honour of being the city's first medical doctor. As druggist and physician he opened a store in May 1881, first in a tent, and later in a wooden shanty, and still later in a stone building on the northeast side of Rosser Avenue and Eighth Street.

P. E. Durst and Company opened Brandon's pioneer jewellery store on Rosser Avenue between Eighth and Ninth Streets, on the north side. This was in June, 1881. Ezekiel Evans lived at the southwest corner of Sixth Street and Princess Avenue. He was the first dealer and importer of horses, in a day when a good horse was a prime necessity. His stables, in 1883, were between Tenth and Eleventh Streets, on the north side of Rosser Avenue. He had accommodation there for twenty-five horses. Animals need a veterinary surgeon. In May, 1882, came Fred Torrance, B.A., to practice this profession on Eleventh Street. Early in 1882, the number of medical doctors had increased to six. The new medical men included Dr. Richmond Spencer, Dr. J. McDiarmid (May, 1882), Dr. Macdonald (March, 1882), Dr. Shaw (March, 1882) and Dr. L. M. Moore (May, 1882).

The first dentist did not come to Brandon till May 1, 1882, when J. Barker Vosburgh located at Rosser Avenue and Ninth Street. F. E. Doering, another surgeon dentist, arrived in the same month. The former came from a Montreal apprenticeship, the latter from Stratford, Ontario.

While grocers, shoemen and jewellers, etc., were setting up business in Brandon, it was evident from the very beginning that hotels would be needed. To fill the need Charles Pilling built the first hotel, "The Royal," which opened in the early summer of 1881. Pilling managed it for some months and then sold it to Cowan and Leadbeater. "The Royal" was located on the south side of Rosser Avenue between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. The Brandon Hotel at the northwest corner of Sixth Street and Pacific Avenue,

under the proprietorship of Paulin and Louis Bergeron and Company, was opened soon afterwards. At first it was little more than an "eating tent." The third hostelry "The Queens" on the south side of Rosser Avenue between Ninth and Tenth (owned by Brown and McKelvie) did not open till October 1881. It stood where the Bank of Montreal now stands.

Brandon's population at the end of June 1881, was not great, possibly about 100 persons, including business people.[1] After the long delays in the construction of the railway during Mackenzie's premiership and the evolutions of Macdonald's government, the public, whilst on the *qui vive*, were inclined to say with Hamlet "I am weary of conjecture." On July 26, 1881, the train coming up the east side of the Red River from Emerson crossed Louise Bridge to follow seventy-five years later almost the identical path traversed by Alexander Henry to Brandon House in 1806. This crossing of the Red River was looked on as a pledge of action. A second tide of immigration started in July and continued till the fall of 1881.

One interesting item about the new arrivals was the coming of a young bride, the wife of L. M. Fortier. She left Ottawa with her husband on June 13, 1881, and arrived in Brandon on July 11. The newly-weds made their first home in a tent on the west side of Ninth Street between Pacific and Rosser Avenues. Their tent, which was on a lot about the middle of the block, was soon visited by J. C. Kavanagh, the postmaster of Grand Valley. In response to the latter's request a table was placed across the entrance of the Fortier tent; a soap box with a slit was placed outside, and Brandon's first temporary post office was established with Mr. Fortier as temporary postmaster. L. M. Fortier soon moved to the northwest corner of Ninth Street and Rosser Avenue, where today a drug store graces the site. Fortier was a real estate broker.

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[1]Ethel Mary Boydell, daughter of Canon Boydell, was the first female child born in Brandon. The date was July 18, 1881. Joseph Phillips, of section 24, township 12, range 19, was the first male child born in the district. On December 17, 1881, Sarah Florence Foster McNulty was born at section 3, township 11, range 18.
The first wedding in the Brandon area was conducted by Reverend Thos. Lawson, February 15, 1882. The contracting parties were John Boyd, of Acton, Ontario, aged 26, and Elizabeth Jane Thompson, of Chatham, Ontario. John was a Presbyterian, Elizabeth a Methodist. The marriage took place at Grand Valley.

New arrivals continued to come. The "Bower, Blackburn, Mundel and Porter" grocery store opened in July at the east corner of Tenth Street and Pacific Avenue. McDougall and McPherson, building contractors, came at the same time. Brandon's first lawyer, Thomas Mayne Daly, arrived early in July. He soon added realtor to his titles of barrister, solicitor, notary public and commissioner in B.R. A. L. Sifton, B.A., LL.B., did not come till September. He represented a Winnipeg firm.

August 1881, was a good month for immigrants. Thomas Lee and Company opened a saddlery on the west side of Sixth Street between Rosser and Princess Avenues. Munroe and Warwick, a pioneer hardware concern opened on the north side of Rosser Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Streets. Their house was east of the lane. James A. Smart opened a month later. His hardware was on the west side of Sixth Street between Rosser and Pacific Avenues.

The firm of D. M. McMillan and Company, real estate agents, hung out their sign in August. A pioneer surveying and civil engineering firm, Poudrier and Brownlee, the banking firm of Manning and Company represented by Mr. E. Hughes, the Brandon Saw Mills represented by J. N. Shields and Company, all arrived in August. This flood of newcomers was due to the building of the track and the fast approach of the railway. The station was on Pacific Avenue, north of Fifth Street.

As fall arrived the need for more substantial housing than tents arose. The Brandon Planing Mills was founded by Messrs. Fisher and Company. In April 1882, they were leased to Messrs. Sword and Moore. Wright and Wright, tinsmiths; Vivian and Hellyar, real estate company, also came in October.

CHAPTER XXIV

REMINISCENCES OF PIONEER DAYS

LEST ONE FORGET the more human side of the early days it is pleasant to note the reminiscences of some "old timers" who were in the Brandon district in 1881. William Deans, D.L.S., who was born May 4, 1859, was a pioneer, who whilst an apprentice to Murdock and Company, surveyed, in 1879, the first 100 miles west of Selkirk. The surveyors followed the fourth correction line. In 1880, Deans, with some companions, came by boat up the Assiniboine, and landing at Grand Valley walked sixteen miles northeast to reach the neighbourhood of Rapid City, the end of the first 100 miles surveyed the previous fall. The Government had almost determined to make Selkirk the metropolis and proceed west from that point. It was the zeal of the Winnipeg people which changed its mind by building a bridge across the river at the forks. Deans recalled that in the winter of 1880-1881 a contractor named Ryan was pouring water on the Red River ice to thicken and strengthen it. When it had reached a sufficient thickness he placed the rails there. At the crucial moment the contractor ordered the engineer to drive across the ice. Ryan was so fearful of catastrophe that he closed his eyes as the engine reached the river. Nothing, however, happened and many thousands of tons of rails and equipment were hauled that winter across from the east side and up Winnipeg Main Street. Mr. Deans closed the Brandon survey on the "Johnston Estate" and on "The North End" in the late fall of 1881.

William Muir came to Brandon on August 30, 1881. The city then was only a railway grading with a few scattered houses on Sixth Street and Pacific Avenue. He came by construction train to De Winton, an embryo town about a half mile east of Carberry. As the train stopped at that point Muir and his companions had perforce to walk to Brandon. About midnight they reached a point at the north end of the modern dam. In answer to their shouts a boat put out and brought them to the south bank. There were

only ten or twelve houses in the village. There were, however, two hotels—the "Royal" between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets on Rosser Avenue, and the "Queens." Muir, who was born in Lanark County, Ontario, in 1859, came to Brandon on the invitation of Coombs and Stewart to accept a position as grocer's assistant. He was paid $15 a month and worked from 7 a.m. to 11 or 12 midnight. The store sold nearly everything. Most of the customers were railroaders. The real boom did not start till 1882, when Mr. Muir in one day sold twenty wedge tents at $18 each. In that season Smart's Hardware disposed of 750 cook stoves at $40 each. The influx of settlers to the Assiniboine basin was in full swing.

The first church service Muir heard of in Brandon was a Catholic service held in the home of Ezekiel Evans, a Methodist, at the southwest corner of Sixth Street and Princess Avenue. That afternoon a Methodist service was held in a tent belonging to two French Catholics "Paulin and Bergeron" opposite to the Coombs and Stewart store on Sixth Street.[1]

The private letters of Edward John Beresford Groome, who left Ireland Thursday, April 28, 1881, and arrived at Winnipeg, May 22 of that year, give a good general idea of the state of the West in 1881. The letters were to his mother in Ireland.

One headed Grand Valley, N.W.T., June 2, 1881, describes the land situation.

"All the land was taken up till we reached Little Souris district. Our caravan consisted of two Red River carts, two yoke of oxen, a buckboard for the guide, and a pair of horses."

Mr. Groome located at Little Souris.

An extract dated July 19, 1881, describes his journey into town from his homestead:

"I started in an oxcart for Grand Valley, and after paying a dollar for crossing the river by the ferry, the woman in the Post Office told me my letters were sent to the Roddick settlement about five miles south."

The ferryman was George Ferrier who later farmed in the district. His family became close friends with the Groomes despite the exorbitant charge.

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[1] While Bishop Cluet held services in 1880 on what was afterwards the site of Brandon, it seems very likely that Rev. Thomas Lawson (Methodist) was the first clergyman to hold services in the village after the site was selected.

Rosser Avenue, Brandon, 1882. Looking north from the corner of Eighth Street and Rosser Avenue. Dr. Fleming's drug store is on right. Building on left in background is Farmer's Hotel.

Rosser Avenue, Brandon, 1882—an old tin-type.

Brandon, Rosser Avenue, north side, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, 1882. Reading from left (west) to right: 1. G. G. Fortier; 2, E. F. Bucke; 3, A. C. James; 4, J. Barker Vosburgh, Dentist; 5, A. Jukes, Manager Imperial Bank; 6, W. Lang; 7, S. Barber, Accountant; 8, T. D. McLean; 9, W. A. McDonald. Man in the doorway behind Bucke is not identified. This type of architecture was very common in pioneer days.

Logs cut in winter floated down the Minnedosa and Assiniboine Rivers, in spring to the new city. The River Snye, long since filled in, carried them to The North West Milling Co., at Thirteenth Street and Brandon Avenue. Later the Assiniboine carried them to The Hanbury Mills at Fifth Street and Assiniboine Avenue. By 1910 settlers had denuded the forest area.

The speed with which Brandon arose is indicated in the following extract (Brandon, July 18, 1881).

"Brandon is a city which owing to Grand Valley being flooded by the river has sprung up on this side of it and I saw the site of it about eight weeks ago and there was not a single house on it and now there are streets and I suppose over a hundred houses and tents."

Further insight is given into conditions in a letter to cousin William Carpendale in Ireland, December 2, 1881. Groome left Brandon for the West in July, 1881. The railroad reached Brandon officially on Sept. 26, 1881, but the road bed was graded farther on:

"Dear William:

"I got back to Brandon about a month ago after a pretty hard trip haymaking. We followed the line marked out for the railroad 200 miles west from Brandon which brought us twelve miles due south of Qu'Appelle. . . . We went into Qu'Appelle for provisions. . . . On the way home we went into Fort Ellice. . . . The police barracks was moved on the 1st of last July as the province of Manitoba was extended that far and the Mounted Police are only stationed through a territory. The railroad line runs twelve miles south of Fort Ellice. We passed the workmen laying the rails about fifteen miles west of Brandon and we saw a locomotive there but the lines are graded fifty miles beyond that. Brandon has wonderfully changed. There are over 500 houses in it now and a train to and from Winnipeg every day except Sunday."

There are very few references to Christmas, 1881. Mr. Groome has this statement in a letter of December 3. "We have not yet, in this part of the world attained that stage of civilization at which they have Xmas cards." One line in a letter of August 4, 1881, has a significance showing how quickly the country was being civilized: "Mrs. Daubney has a piano."

Reference has already been made to Brandon's first election for the provincial legislature on November 2, 1881. The winning candidate was the Liberal, J. W. Sifton. In a letter to his mother dated "Guy Foxes Day, 1881," Mr. Groome writes in a humorous vein:

"Well! on Wednesday Hambrough, Stanley and McKelvie the two carpenters and myself went into the election—first in Brandon—and as I had my homestead for three month on that day I had a vote and so had Hambrough and McKelvie so we voted for the conservative candidate whom I hope will get in but the result is not known yet. I have grown about twelve feet I think since I became so extensive a land proprietor as to entitle me to a vote. I may mention that I examined the gentleman I voted for most studiously in order to satisfy myself thoroughly that he had

no corns but to my utter horror and disgust I afterwards ascertained that he was a Co(r)nservative, they would not let me change my vote."

Groome was on the haymaking trip for seventy-eight days at $1 a day, but the contractor only paid $30. Groome's laconic comment was, "He was an American."

CHAPTER XXV

MANITOBA TRAILS AND ROADS

WHEN NEWCOMERS to Manitoba in the eighties asked their predecessors about roads; the remarks of the latter were generally uncomplimentary. The truth is that there were no roads. What were called roads were really the trails used since prehistoric times by the Indians or at the dawn of Canadian history by the employees of the Hudson's Bay Co.

In Indian days the main trail for the West started from "the Forks of the Red" and meandered along the north bank of the Assiniboine river at such distance from the edge as made for convenient travel. This was the road followed by Alexander Henry travelling from Pembina to Brandon House. Having reached Portage la Prairie the trail, which in 1945 is called variously the Hudson's Bay Trail, the Saskatchewan Trail and the Edmonton Trail, divided into a north and a south branch. A careful examination of the maps of Henry Youle Hind and the places named by Macoun in his "Manitoba and the Great North West" give the following points as either touched by or in the immediate neighbourhood of the trail. (See Chart XIV facing page 94).

The north branch on leaving Fort Garry and coming to Portage la Prairie passed in turn through Westbourne, Woodside, Gladstone, Keyes, Arden, Neepawa, Minnedosa, Basswood, Newdale, Strathclair, the south of Shoal Lake, Birtle, and came to the Assiniboine River, a little north of the mouth of the Qu'Appelle River. After the Assiniboine River was crossed the trail continued in a northwesterly direction to the Touchwood Hills and then to the South Saskatchewan River. The latter was crossed at Batoche's ferry and the trail continued by Duck Lake to Carlton where the trail branched—one, the northern section, crossing the North Saskatchewan and continuing on to Edmonton; the second, proceeding along the south bank towards Battleford and on to Edmonton. There, if the traveller so decided, he could continue ninety miles further to Fort Assiniboine on the Athabaska River.

The south branch of the Hudson's Bay Trail, after leaving Portage la Prairie, passed Rat Creek, McKinnon's Creek, Pine Creek, Oberon, Moore Park, Rapid City and thence joined the north branch "a few miles east of the Salt Lake" in the neighbourhood of Strathclair.

The Yellow Quill Trail or Antlers Trail

A branch of the Hudson's Bay Trail left the south portion of the main trail at Pine Creek and headed in a southwesterly direction for the Assiniboine River in the neighbourhood of Brandon forts. Elebaddy and Hewson, who surveyed township 8, range 16, W.1, in 1879, found this trail sufficiently well defined in September 1879, that they marked it as crossing in a straight line from the southeast quarter of section 36 to the northeast quarter of section 28 and apparently heading for Assiniboine House, Fort La Souris, XY Fort, etc. After the river was crossed, the trail subdivided into two branches. One section headed for the southwest in the general direction of Wawanesa for southwestern Manitoba, the other section headed on the right or west bank of the Assiniboine River for Fort Ellice. (As the stem of the tall prairie grass was sometimes called "a quill" the term Yellow Grass and Yellow Quill trails are used indiscriminately.)

The Qu'Appelle Trail

Fort Ellice was a central point to and from which all trails led and departed. One track headed in a westerly direction south of the Qu'Appelle River and north of Beaver Creek. When it came opposite Qu'Appelle a branch headed north to the Touchwood Hills, and along the right bank of the Saskatchewan River to Batoche's ferry and thence to the Milk River country. The main Qu'Appelle trail continued on its way to Moose Jaw Creek and the Cypress Hills.

Fort Pelly Trail

From Fort Ellice the Fort Pelly trail led north along the east bank of the Assiniboine River to the fort, which was 140 miles from Beaver Creek.[1] Macoun mentions a trail

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[1] H. Youle Hind seems to make this trail on the east bank of the Assiniboine, Macoun on the west bank.

leaving Fort Ellice for the southwest, Moose Mountain, Wood Mountain and the hunting grounds of the half-breeds.

Minor Trails

There are many minor trails mentioned in literature of sixty years ago. The Millford and Grand Valley trail, marked by surveyors Caddy and Hewson previous to February 1881, started on the south bank of the Assiniboine at Grand Valley and headed south and east across township 8, range 17, sections 30, 29, 28, 27, 26, and 24 in the direction of the junction of the Souris and the Assiniboine Rivers. Other trails led from Fort Garry to Oak Point and the narrows of Lake Manitoba at Dog Creek and Manitoba House. Yet another led from Portage la Prairie north to Lake Manitoba.

The trails which crossed Manitoba and Rupert's Land sixty-five years ago were made by the Indians or by early settlers with long brigades of Red River carts, numbering ofttimes one hundred or more to the brigade. Travelling in single file each cart drawn by a horse or oxen hauling a load of half a ton, marked out two rut marks on the prairie sod, while the animal marked a path for his followers. Year by year increasing traffic marked more ruts until a well-defined trail was in existence. Macoun tells us that the trail to Battleford had twenty ruts or cart tracks. The trails of the whiteman were seldom direct. The caravan meandered from place to place to secure wood and water. Indian trails, on the other hand, led from hilltop to hilltop. The whiteman could guess the route an Indian trail would go, if he knew where the hills were. They served the paleface and the red and now their location has become only a very vague tradition.

The Clark-Heaslip Trail

To the number of trails already mentioned we have ventured to add one more. Colonel F. J. Clark, a resident of Brandon since 1900, homesteaded from 1882-1900 with his brother Harry at section 10, township 7, range 19, W.1— half a mile west and two and one-half miles south of Chesley school. The mail carrier in the years 1883-1885 between

Brandon and Boissevain was John Heaslip. Young F. J.
Clark and John Heaslip marked the Clark-Heaslip trail with
stakes to guide the early pioneers bringing loads of grain to
Brandon from the farms round Carroll, Nesbitt and Baldur.
The journey took from early morn to sundown. On the
way refreshments were sought at farm places known as
"Stopping Houses." The principal ones were Mrs. Spicer's
and Mrs. Corbett's and the Black Creek stopping house (sec.
6, tp. 7, ra. 17.). They are mentioned by the novelist Nellie
McClung in her writings. Others were Wm. McCandlish's,
Wm. Hume Martin's, Shepherd's, Wm. Bennet's, Jim Cleve-
land's, and John Doran's. (See Map p. 116.) This list is in-
complete.

The wayward trails of the eighties began with the influx
of population to assume more definite location. They led
from stopping house to village and town. Not the least
important of the centres touched at was Brandon on the
new "rail" way.

CHAPTER XXVI

FROM VILLAGE TO CITY

THE YEAR 1882 was one of pioneering for the new city of Brandon. Stores and hotels opened daily. The new immigrants demanded accommodation and the three hotels of 1881 numbered twenty-one in 1882. Brandon, in this year, had 195 places of business. Of these, 40 were banks, financial institutions and offices; 31 were manufacturing plants; 97 were mercantile, and 27 miscellaneous, such as hotels, livery stables, boarding houses, etc.

Probably the first financial institution doing business was the Manitoba and North-West Loan and Mortgage Company on Rosser Avenue, which was represented by J. W. Horne from May 1881. It claimed to have loaned $75,000 on farms in the earliest days. On August 1, 1881, Messrs. Manning and Company, another private banking firm, was represented by E. Hughes till February 1, 1882. The same gentleman represented the Scottish, Ontario and Manitoba Land Company, and the North British and Canadian Investment Company. The Merchant's Bank of Canada opened its doors March 31, 1882. One month later the Imperial Bank opened with A. Jukes as manager. Wallis, Ramsey and Company, private bankers, and the London and Canadian Loan and Mortgage Company commenced business shortly afterwards. Banks sometimes pioneer and sometimes accompany business. In Brandon's early days it did both. They were aided, however, by private parties carrying on a loan business.

Manufacturing

Two of the earliest manufacturing plants were, in September 1882, doing a business of over $150,000, two others had reached $100,000, two more $75,000, three $50,000, and five $25,000. They employed 274 adults of whom 75 were skilled mechanics.

The mercantile section is the most astounding as regards growth in the history of the city. There were ninety-seven

institutions. Four were doing a business of $150,000, seven were over $100,000, four at $75,000 and six at $50,000. Eight were content with $25,000. The diversity of the major businesses opened in 1882 is shown by the numbers of each: Furniture 4, hardware 2, realtors 3, lumber 6, carriages 3, groceries 12, boots 2, farm machinery 1, harness 2, butcher 1, newspaper 1, jewellers 4, cigars 1, painters 1, confectioner 1, club 1, architects 1, assurance 2, and livery 2. This list is by no means exhaustive. Two hundred and ten clerks were employed and stocks, estimated at close to $1,000,000, were on hand.

The city, which in the spring had a population of 1,500, by September had reached nearly 3,000. It is difficult to make particular mention of the early stores or manufacturing firms because of the difficulty of naming some and omitting others. Some, however, seem to stand out. William Johnston, who opened in January, 1882, was the pioneer farm implement firm. James Shillinglaw and the Lockhart Brothers both opened furniture stores in March. We note the following firms opening in the same month, e.g., McQuarrie and Co. (planing mills); Sovereen, Johnston and Co. (grocers); John Moblo (general store). The April list of stores opening contained fourteen names: Atkinson and Quigley (grocer); Cameron and Larken (lumber), Westbrook and Fairchild (farm machinery), Port Warham (groceries), and Duncan Bros. (harness) were a few among many. Six firms opened in May. The Fraser Bros. had a dry goods store first on Pacific and later at Rosser Avenue and Tenth Street. T. D. McLean became a watchmaker and jeweller sometime before the D. A. Reesor firm opened in June. The latter month saw nine new firms doing business. Ten new ones opened in July. Among these were Miller (provisions), Ross (wagons), Lang (a brickyard near cemetery), Hughes and Patrick (lumber, beside the frame school), A. Burns (hardware, corner of Princess and Eleventh Street) and lastly Vivian, Riley and Garside (painters) in a tent on Pacific Avenue and Eighth Street.

Brandon's early citizens were interested in two "institutions"—the one "The New Era," a small cigar store on Rosser Avenue owned in August, 1882, by Fortier and Bucke—and

Major General Thomas L. Rosser, C.S.A., born 1836, died 1910. Chief Engineer, C.P.R., 1881-1886.

W. C. Van Horne, General Manager of C.P.R. January 1, 1882.

The Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada, 1872-1878.

Princess Louise, born 1848, married (McTavish) Marquis of Lorne, 1871.

Their names give historical significance to Brandon avenues.

A smart turn out. A one-steer power light Assiniboine River cart. On the Brandon homesteads of 1882, the Assiniboine cart served many a useful purpose.

Winnipeg, 1871, looking North from Fort Garry. The buildings are tentatively identified by Mr. L. T. S. Norris-Elye as follows, reading from left to right: 1, Hudson's Bay Retail Store; 2, Drever's Stopping Place; 3, McKenny's Hardware Store (now McArthur Block); 4, Frank Gingras, Trader; 5, Couture's Store or Archibald Wright's Hardware; 6, Schultz Residence and General Store near Water Street; 7, Grace Church; 8, Unidentified; 9, Alexander Ross, Sheriff; 10, Main Street, looking north.

the other "The Club," later known as the Langham Hotel.
The Club was on the west side of Twelfth Street, about 150
feet north of Princess Avenue. A list of prominent buildings
contracted for building in September, 1882, were as follows:
A new Church of England $8,000, a new Catholic Church
$6,000, a residence for J. D. McBurney of Freiburg, Ger-
many, $10,000, a residence for E. Clementi Smith $8,000,
the Murray Block at the corner of Rosser and Fourth Street
$10,000, a frame residence for T. Mayne Daly (at present
incorporated in the enlarged children's home) $6,000, two
villas for Postmaster Kavanagh $10,000, a residence for J. H.
Brownlee $2,500, and a block of buildings for Fisher and
Company. It might be mentioned here that the first house
built by the C.P.R. was about two miles south of Brandon
on Eighteenth Street and a half mile west. It was for
C. Whitehead and was later known as "Coxe's Place."

Streets

The streets at first were prairie trails. They were gradually
graded. When Poudrier and Brownlee were appointed city
engineers this was one of the first things to which they gave
their attention. As a beginning, all the streets running north
and south were graded from First to Eighteenth Streets, and
as far south as the city limits. Rosser Avenue and Sixth
Street were coated with screened gravel and cobblestone
gutters carried off the water. Culverts and drains were built
and the ladies were promised that they "could walk on clean
solid roads one-half hour after a thunderstorm." Two-inch
plank sidewalks, eight feet wide, were laid in September on
all the principal graded streets. "Four-plank" sidewalks
were erected on less important routes. "Six-feet crossings"
were laid in numerous parts of the city. By the end of 1882
the city had nine miles of graded streets, 11,802 feet of
"eight-feet" sidewalk and 11,524 feet of "four-board" side-
walk. Civic offices and a fire hall and numerous hotels made
the city a progressive burg. A few years later, a young lawyer
reporter named Robert Matheson, whose father was a
pioneer contractor, coined the title the "Wheat City" to
describe his home town.

Brandon City Council

A year had elapsed since on May 25, 1881, Brandon County was marked out as an administrative area. Almost on the anniversary of that day, to be precise, on May 28, 1882, thanks to the efforts of John W. Sifton, M.P.P., Brandon was presented with its first city charter.

Two months were to elapse before, on July 3, 1882, at 4 p.m., the first City Council would hold its inaugural meeting in the Tenth Street school house. Perhaps schoolmaster Thomas Lamont dismissed his charges a little in advance, so that the aldermen elect W. Winter, John Sifton, Brock, Evans, Winters, Smart, Bower, Lockhart, Buckan, Fortier and the mayor elect Thomas Mayne Daly, would assemble. William Winter, Justice of the Peace, administered the oath of office to lawyer Daly, and the latter in turn, duly administered it to the aldermen. On a future occasion it had to be administered to alderman Pilling for he missed the inaugural meeting.

Two committees, one on committees and one to name the officers needed and the salaries which these officers would be paid, were appointed. The meeting then adjourned till Thursday, July 6, 1882.

When the committee reported at the second meeting, it was decided to have committees on Finance and Assessment; fire, water and gas; a Board of Works; a Board of Health; and a Court of Revision. The report of the committee on officers suggested a city clerk with an annual salary of $1,200, a constable at $60 a month, a chamberlain or city treasurer at $400 per annum, an assessor and collector at $1,200, chief of police and health inspector at $900, a temporary city engineer at $150 a month "till November." Officers were appointed to fill each of these positions, except that of city clerk, an appointment which was postponed till a week afterwards, but Andrew Waddell became assessor, A. McMillan, police chief; Donald Campbell, constable; and F. J. A. Henderson, city solicitor. Before the meeting adjourned a committee was appointed to secure tables, chairs, writing paper and a suitable room for council meetings.

The third meeting was held July 10, 1882, in "The Block"—very likely the Kelly Hotel on Sixth Street. Alder-

man Buckan, who was acting as clerk to the council since its first meeting, was replaced temporarily by Andrew Waddell. Then the council decided that if it was to work efficiently, it must have money, and Brandon's first money by-law for $50,000, was read a first, second and third time and passed.

CHART XIX
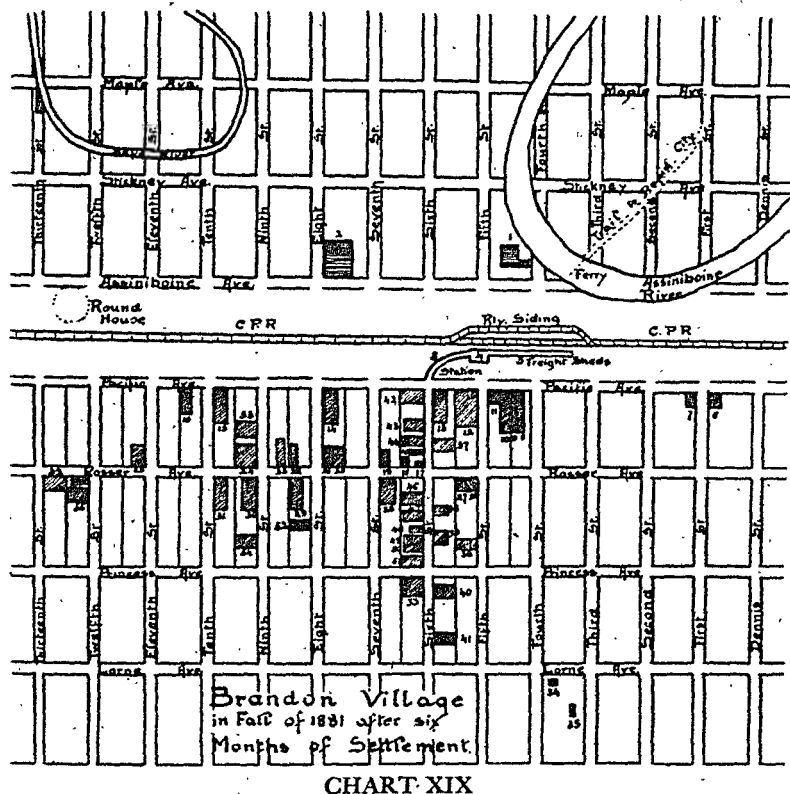
BRANDON VILLAGE LATE IN FALL OF 1881 AFTER THE
FIRST SIX MONTHS

ASSINIBOINE AVENUE
(north side)
  1 Fisher Flouring Mills
  2 F. D. Myer and Ch. Whitehead

PACIFIC AND FIFTH ST.
(north side)
  3 Freight Sheds
  4 C.P.R. Station
  5 Road to 6th St.

PACIFIC AVENUE (south side)
  Intersection at First and Pacific A.
  6 S.E. corner J. E. Woodworth & John Rounsefell General Store
  7 S.W. corner J. F. Woodworth & B. F. Woodworth Store, Italian Goods
Between 4th and 5th Streets—
  8 Al. Rowe Bd. House (Windsor Hotel)

9 George Winters Grocery
10 Sinkbell Shoe Store
11 Gurnett Bros. (Immigration Hall)

Between 5th and 6th—
12 Bracket & Chute Lumber
13 Coombs & Stewart Grocers

Between 7th and 8th— — —
14 Wm. Buttlebank Lumber

Between 9th and 10th—
15 Bower, Blackburn, Mundell & Porter, Grocers

Between 10th and 11th—
16 McManus Boarding House

ROSSER AVENUE (north side)

Between 6th and 7th Streets—
17 Wm. Winter & O'Neil, Grocers
18 Munroe & Warwick, Tinsmiths
19 White Bros., Bakers

Between 7th and 8th—
20 G. B. Angus & John Lyons, Contractors
21 Fleming Drug Store

Between 8th and 9th—
22 D. Young, Merchant
23 P. E. Durst, Jeweller

Between 9th and 10th—
24 Deacon & Hooper, Grocers

Between 11th and 12th—
25 Leask & Rose Drug Store

ROSSER AVENUE (south side)

Between 5th and 6th—
26 J. W. Sifton, M.P.P.
27 Mulholland Stables

Between 6th and 7th—
28 North-West House, D. C. McKinnon, Prop. (Central Hotel)

Between 8th and 9th—
29 Wm. Wright & Ed. Wright, Tinsmiths

Between 9th and 10th—
30 Dickinson & McNulty, Grocers
31 Queen's Hotel

Between 12th and 13th Streets—
32 Royal Hotel

PRINCESS AVENUE

Between 6th and 7th
33 Ezekiel Evans, Banker

LORNE AVENUE (south side)
Between 3rd and 4th Streets—
34 R.C. Church
35 Adamson Shack

FIFTH STREET (west side)
Between Rosser and Princess—
36 Molesworth, Civil Engineer

SIXTH STREET (east side)
Between Pacific and Rosser—
37 H. Sage Stables
Between Rosser and Princess—
38 Johnston & Star, Butchers
39 C. Greer, Barber
Between Princess and Lorne—
40 Russell & P. McKenzie, Blacksmiths
41 T. Palmer, Farmer

SIXTH STREET (west side)
Between Pacific and Rosser—
42 P. Paulin & Bergeron, Hotel
43 Owen Carson, Grocer
44 G. H. Munroe, Grocer
45 Smart's Hardware
Between Rosser and Princess—
46 Thos. Lee, Saddlery
47 Thos. Barton, Saloon
48 John McVeigh, Butcher
49 Port Warham, Billiard Hall
50 Methodist Church, Rev. Lawson
51 Victoria Bd. House (Kelly Ho.)

EIGHTH STREET (east side) none
EIGHTH STREET (west side)
52 Tebo Livery Stable

NINTH STREET (east side) none
NINTH STREET (west side)
Between Pacific and Rosser—
53 First Post Office in tent in middle of block (L. M. Fortier)
Between Rosser and Princess—
54 Moblo Grocer

TWELFTH STREET (west side)
Between Rosser and Princess—
55 W. J. White
56 Sun Office

EIGHTEENTH STREET (west side)
Between Rosser and Princess—
T. M. Daly residence (not on map).

THIRTEENTH AND MAPLE AVENUE
57 North-West Milling Co.

Three days later, July 13, the council was meeting once more, and it might be noted that thenceforth it met every Monday and Thursday, during 1883. Each meeting indicates clearly the steps necessary to secure law and order in the efficient running of a city. A by-law was passed giving the city power to move any tent or house or any obstruction off a street or lane. The council appointed Edmund Martindale as Brandon's first permanent city clerk. The city chamberlain was requested to bond himself in favour of the city for $5,000 and two securities of $10,000 each.

Subsequent meetings held in July dealt with some trifling and some important matters. Mr. Vivian informed the council that he objected to other people's cattle running at large. Reverend Mr. Dundas, on July 24, asked for a road to the west of the city, and a worthy citizen reported that water was running across Fourth Street and Pacific Avenue. Would the engineer look after it? He would. About this time Brandon found it necessary to consider purchasing a cemetery. The matter of street crossing, paving culverts, and building board sidewalks came up so often that Alcide Lemay Poudrier and James Harrison Brownlee were appointed city engineers. By July 31, the city purchased lots 39 and 40 (on which the present fire hall is situated) for $3,000, from Mr. Horne. The question of issuing liquor licenses was a matter of general interest. The council decided to enforce liquor prohibition till it found out its powers in such matters. We afterwards find it issuing licenses to hotels and taverns.

Brandon's first civic holiday was "granted on petition" for August 23, 1882.

The health of the citizens was always a matter of concern to the aldermen. August 28 found them ordering a sewer to be made from the immigration sheds to the Assiniboine River, and when it was reported that "water closets were in a defective state in the city and were poisoning the wells" the council was quite solicitous. The city was to depend on wells for water till 1891, when a pumping station was built. A popular spring in the early days was on the lane south of Rosser between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. Alderman Fortier objected to certain water-men monopolizing this spring. The same alderman strongly objected to en-

gineers digging out trenches for culverts long before the culverts were made. Citizens not on the alert were inclined to topple into those drains.

Scarcely a year had elapsed since the railway had come to Brandon when, on September 25, 1882, Dr. Fleming was asking the council for $154 for "attendance on the Niblock lad, run over on the railway track." Thus young Niblock made fame awry by being the first Brandon youngster injured by a railway train.

The interest of the city in grain is evidenced as early as September 25, 1882. Alderman Fortier reported that his firm had secured land close to C.P.R. tracks to erect Brandon's first grain elevator, and that it would be finished to hold the season's grain. There is no mention of Mr. Fortier securing a tax exemption for his elevator but on October 2 the council granted a five-year tax exemption to a Mr. Selby "if he would build an elevator of 40,000 bushels capacity and would complete it for that season."

On October 9, 1882, the council displayed its bargaining capacity. Messrs. Ross, Killam and Haggart, Winnipeg lawyers, wrote that their clients wished to dispose of the bridges over the Assiniboine. The matter was referred to the city solicitor. By December 4 the council was considering a report from the city engineers and from architect, Mr. McCoskrie. as to the stability of both bridges. Joseph Woodworth, who owned First Street bridge, and Haggart, who was interested in the Eighteenth Street bridge, addressed the council and offered each structure for $25,000 "which amount could be reduced by such amount as was needed to complete it"—Mr. McCoskrie was doubtful about the stability of First Street bridge. The council was so impressed by the addresses that the city solicitor was instructed to draw up a by-law for presentation to the people—council having agreed to the suggestion of Messrs. Woodworth and Taggart. On December 26, 1882, on the motion of Aldermen Sifton and Ross, the bridge by-law was withdrawn for an unstated reason to the great disgust of the vendors. As one traces the matter through the old minute books, written in sometimes almost undecipherable script, it becomes evident that the First Street bridge had no graded approaches. Pedestrian and vehicular traffic

went down the hill to cross the tracks. The bridge was a low structure on a level with the railroad. Five years afterward the city secured both bridges at a sum of approximately $5,000 each.

Mr. W. C. Clark was the first auctioneer licensed by the city. The date was September 11, 1882. There were probably other auctioneers prior to this—during the interval when Brandon Village was part of the county.

Brandon City Council, from the beginning, had business dealings with the Brandon School Board. First reference to the Board's finances concern the receipt of an account rendered to the Council with reference to the amount required for school purposes. The date was September 4, 1882. On October 23, the Board asked the Council to include $15,000 worth of Debentures for school purposes in the new issue about to be sold by the Council. This time the Board sent a delegation consisting of Reverend Mr. Ferries and Mr. William J. White. Both gentlemen addressed the Council on the matter of city schools. A month later, November 6, 1882, the School Board asked the Council to furnish it with a revised list of all Protestant taxpayers. The Council regretted that its lists did not give such information but that the Secretary-Treasurer might have access to them at his convenience. The matter was settled by asking Reverend Father Joseph Robillard, chairman of the Roman Catholic Separate School, to furnish a list of Catholics. All the rest would be Protestant—a delightful solution to a difficult question and indicative of the harmonious relations of all parties. Mr. Barr, secretary of the Protestant School Board, probably walked over the prairie to St. Augustine's, in the fields, to discuss the matter. The Bell telephones were not yet installed as the charge was $65 per year. A month later the City Council was requesting the School Board to supply it with a list of Protestant taxpayers so that it might determine the assessment for school purposes. Red tape had reached the Assiniboine basin. The first money by-law passed the voters at the fall election in 1882. The returning officer informed the Council that by-law 19 had passed 116 for, and 3 against. Thus the city could sell its debentures. The numbers who voted give us some idea of the number of taxpayers in the

infant city in 1882. It also indicated the optimism[1] of the taxpayers. In 1882, $150,000 was a large sum of money.

[1]During the years, various attempts have been made to curb the spending proclivities of Brandon's City Council and to secure financial equilibrium in civic matters. One such attempt was the appointment of a city manager, viz., A. W. Ellson Fawkes in 1927. The attempt was a success but was for various reasons discontinued after three years.
The second attempt was in 1937 when Brandon's financial affairs were placed in the hands of a provincial municipal Commissioner. First Mr. McPherson and later Mr. Oscar Harwood—the latter in December, 1937—were appointed City Supervisors. Both gentlemen acting for the Commissioner exercised a controlling influence on expenditures.

Rosser Avenue, Brandon, 1886. Looking west from Sixth Street
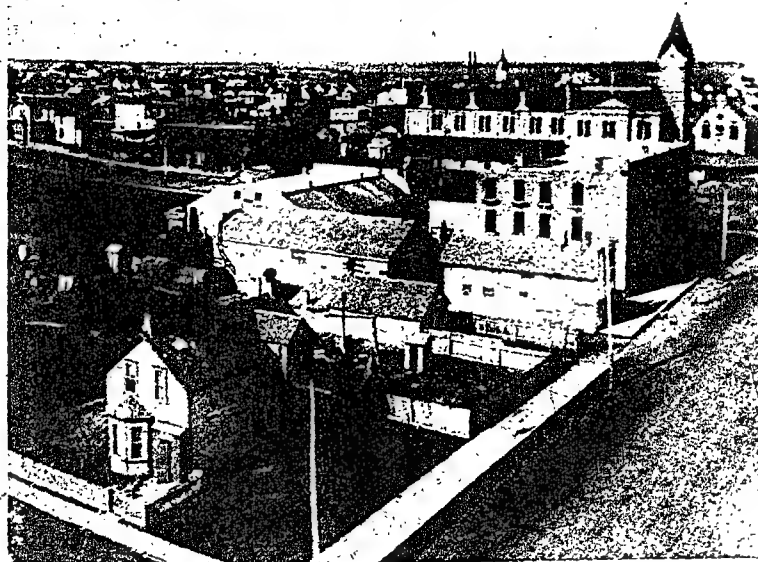
Brandon, 1892, from Princess Avenue. Salvation Army Citadel was then on site of Prince Edward Hotel. Notice new City Hall. Beaubier Hotel is on right, near centre.

Brandon, 1890. Corner of Eighth Street and Princess Avenue. Land Titles Office in foreground.
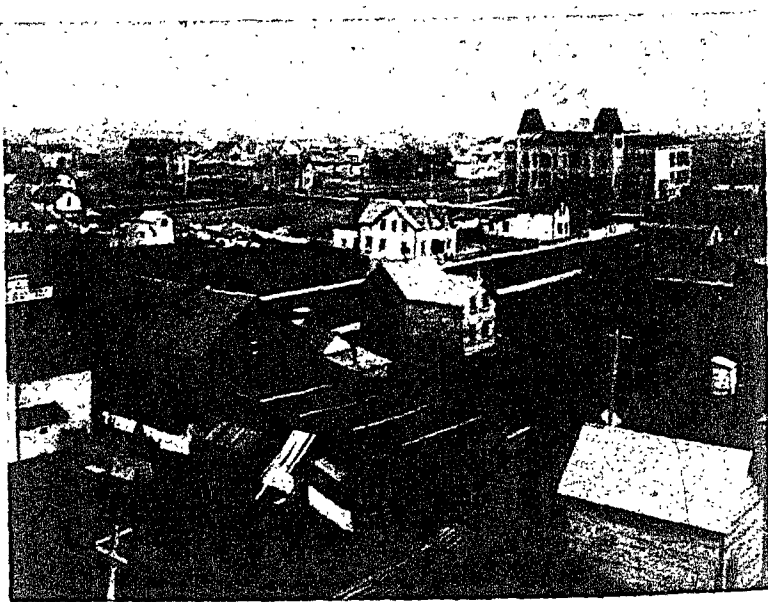
Brandon, 1890. Looking southeast. The first Court House and jail is far away in the left of centre background. St. Augustine's Church and St. Joseph's Academy are on southeast of Lorne Avenue.

CHAPTER XXVII

FINANCES OF A PIONEER CITY

IN THE ESTABLISHMENT, growth and development of a prairie community, an important matter is the raising of money by taxation for public purposes. This aspect of civic life in Brandon is so long and involved that it cannot be dealt with at length in a volume of this nature. We, therefore, merely point out the methods of taxation, and give a few sample budgets to help the reader.

The methods of taxation in use in Ontario in the eighties, viz., taxation on real estate values, was that adopted by Brandon's first city council and followed by its successors. When a settler purchased a lot and built a house the assessor—Brandon's first was Andrew Waddell—estimated their value for taxation purposes and then the council having decided the amount of money it needed to run the city, the assessor estimated how many mills on the dollar each real property owner would have to pay. Until the result of the first tax gathering came in, the city fathers lived by borrowing from financial institutions and banks on the security of bonds and notes. This was a most expensive method of financing but down through the years, till about 1940, Brandon pledged, in advance, the income from its tax collection to a bank, and borrowed the money it needed at a rate of 6 per cent to 8 per cent per annum. Those who wished to adopt a pay-as-you-go method were as voices crying in the wilderness.

Brandon began its financial career by borrowing $50,000 from the Imperial Bank of Canada. On January 6, 1883, a special meeting of the council was called to consider a claim of the Bank for the taxes as they were collected. The city fathers had paid civic staffs and erected public buildings, etc., and the result was a total indebtedness of $92,921.87. Pay sheets amounting to $2,373.01 had not yet passed the council. The aldermen, it might also be mentioned, had purchased a new safe for $407.25. The council meeting reached no decision, for on January 15, 1883, Alderman Fortier wanted to know whether the city's creditors could be told

with any certainty when they would get their money, and
Mayor Winter informed him a loan for $30,000 was being
negotiated. Brandon was in the midst of its first financial
dilemma. On January 29, 1883, the Bank of Nova Scotia
would not loan the city $10,000. On November 19, 1883,
Henderson, City Solicitor, notified the council that John
Flury had registered "a mechanic's lean for $161.20 against
the hose tower and the land occupied thereby." On November 23, 1883, the Imperial Bank refused to consider further
loans.

The city fathers, in high dudgeon, next decided to send
Mayor Winter, Alderman Smart and Contractor Cameron to
Winnipeg to borrow $10,000 on the security of $30,000 of
debentures, or on the strength of 1883 taxes. The trip did
not take place. The city council reached an agreement with
the Imperial Bank whereby it passed a by-law pledging to
the bank the city taxes for the current year. In subsequent
years this procedure was followed with monotonous regularity.

At the first meeting of the city council on January 7, 1884,
Thomas Mayne Daly, the mayor, was in the chair. His report
gives us a bird's eye view of the financial situation:

Taxes collected for 1882	$ 8,622.50
Taxes collected for 1883	6,222.98
Total	$14,845.48
School Board Proportion	$ 3,966.33
Less amount paid School Board	1,121.80
Leaving total amount due	$ 2,844.53
On account of which there was in hand	$ 350.00

The Mayor's report was filed.

Ten years later, January, 1895, the scene is changed, but
only as regards the Mayor. The city is once more financially
embarrassed. Alderman Smart addressing the city fathers for
the first time that year reports: that he desires a levy for the
work done that year and not to issue further debentures or
to expend capital. The new waterworks are paying. Brandon
should be the market of the Northwest. The debenture debt
is now $599,000 of which $71,000 are debentures of the

School Board, $70,000 for the construction of the Court House and jail, interest charges are $29,880 (not counting school board interest). The city needs to raise $24,980 or 8 mills on the assessment.[1] Over $528,000 has been spent on improvement. This is a time of depression. We should open negotiations with the bond holders. Council should meet once a month instead of once a fortnight. Cost of administration should be cut.

The city did not default on its debts, but it broadcast its financial difficulties to such an extent that in subsequent years, as lawyer Stephen Clement found out, every Bond company kept a large dossier with a full list of Brandon's threats, thus making it extremely difficult to sell its bond issues.

At the inaugural meeting on August 16, 1905, Mayor Fleming has words of encouragement for the aldermen. "Brandon's assessment in 1904 was per capita $389 to Portage la Prairie's $395 and Winnipeg's $715. Ours are very much lower and money is in hand for debentures and current expenses." He recommended that ratepayers living south of Victoria Avenue should be assigned to a new fifth ward and that the city should have a permanent chief of police.

Auditor's Report 1905

A traveller in 1880 passing the Assiniboine River in the neighbourhood of Brandon would see nothing on the river's shelving south shore but mud banks and patches of bush. By 1905 the whole scene had changed. The towered battlements of a new city had sprung up at the behest of immigrants from distant lands. By their toil, the city had acquired very tangible assets with their corresponding liabilities. In order to give the reader a picture of the city's financial status and to afford readers of a more studious nature an opportunity to examine the growth of a city, we here print Brandon's financial report for 1905. Students of civics will find it a mine of information, especially if they compare it with auditor's reports of 1882, 1946, and subsequent years.

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[1] Brandon's average annual assessment 1940-1945 was 45 mills on the dollar.

CITY OF BRANDON AUDITOR'S REPORT, 1905

Cash in Bank:

General Account, January 1, 1905	$ 6,088.60	
Pavement Account, January 1, 1905	2,362.03	
Trust Account, January 1, 1905	466.68	
Cash in Hand, January 1, 1905	563.90	
		$ 9,481.21

Taxes:

1905	$ 94,073.20	
1904	8,950.28	
1903	826.91	
1902	.75	
1901	.50	
		103,851.64
Redemptions	$ 1,978.96	
Interest on Taxes	488.18	
Sidewalk Tax, commuted	525.60	
		2,992.74
City Lands		13,265.77
Dog Tax		594.00
Licenses, Fines and Costs		6,218.50
Rents, City Hall and Market		3,530.30
Treasurer's Fees		154.50
Rent, Court House and Gaol—two years		8,400.00
R. A. Lloyd, Trust		5.00
Notes Discounted—		
General Account	$ 89,000.00	
Pavement Account	32,000.00	
Sewer Account	45,000.00	
		166,000.00
Waterworks:		
Water Rate Collections	$ 17,410.97	
Hydrant Rentals	3,500.00	
		20,910.97
Construction Account:		
Notes Discounted		55,000.00
Balance Due Bank, December 31, 1905		3,836.41
Trust Account		14,209.34
		$408,450.38

EXPENDITURE

Construction Account—Balance due Bank		$ 567.60
Finance and Assessment	$ 15,737.98	
Board of Works	15,762.80	
Crusher Account	4,428.44	
Cement Account	7,690.59	
Fire, Water and Light	16.055.52	
License, Police and Health and Relief	13,304.01	
		72,979.34
Commissioner's Levy		1,031.81
Schools		31,611.00
General Hospital—Grant		750.00
Western Agricultural and Arts Association		1,000.00
Interest on Debentures	$ 23,157.46	
Interest on Loans	2,418.25	
Rebate on Taxes	4,646.91	
		30,222.62
Notes Paid, General Account		86,000.00
Sewer Account		44,287.87
Pavement Account		32,671.41
Sinking Fund—Court House and Gaol	$ 1,729.00	
By-law No. 582	502.10	
By-law No. 583	370.65	
By-law No. 662	1,436.85	
By-law No. 698	1,070.27	
		5,108.87
Waterworks—Salaries	$ 2,475.00	
Maintenance	12,530.46	
Fuel	5,466.68	
Interest on Debentures	5,250.00	
		25,722.14
Construction Account		57,888.10
Trust Account		13,830.11
Cash in Bank—General Account	1,921.48	
Pavement Account	584.19	
Sewer Account	312.66	
Trust Account	845.91	
Cash in Hand	1,115.27	
		4,779.51
		$408,450.38

ASSETS
Active

Cash on Hand	$ 1,115.27	
Cash in Bank—General Account	1,921.48	
Trust Account	845.91	
Pavement Account	584.19	
Sewer Account	312.66	
		$ 4,779.51
Taxes—Current	$ 11,737.84	
Arrears	1,533.93	
		13,271.77
Tax Sale Lands, unpaid balances		9,296.78
Granolithic Walks, uncollected		1,353.43
Public Works in Progress:		
Water Meter Account		2,614.85
Water Services Account		3,433.92
Waterworks Pumping Station and Plant		93,455.70
New Sewers		44,287.87
Granolithic Walks, 1902	$ 7,312.00	
Granolithic Walks, 1903	22,107.29	
Granolithic Walks, 1904	23,506.29	
Granolithic Walks, 1905	35.005.60	
		87,931.18
Sinking Funds: General— *Reserve*		
Court House and Gaol		4,720.45
Sinking Funds: Local Improvements—		
Granolithic Walks B.L. 582	$ 1,549.30	
Granolithic Walks B.L. 1143.70	1,143.70	
Granolithic Walks B.L. 662	2,378.32	
Granolithic Walks B.L. 698	1,070.27	
		6,141.59
Necessary Investments: *Fixed*		
Waterworks (original)	$110,000.00	
Court House and Gaol	56,500.00	
City Hall and Market	105,000.00	
Fire Hall and Plant	25,800.00	
Registry Office	800.00	
Garbage Grounds	500.00	
City Pound	1,000.00	
Parks and Athletic Grounds	37,000.00	
Public Works Equipment and Supplies	21,000.00	
Tax Sale Lands	8,921.00	
Passive		366,521.00
Bridges	$ 29,000.00	
Sewers	80,000.00	
Streets and Culverts	150,000.00	
		259,000.00
		$896,808.05

LIABILITIES

Bonded

General Debentures:

Court House—By-law No. 41	$ 50,000.00	
Registry Office—By-law No. 65	23,000.00	
Hose Tower—By-law No. 65	} 19,553.34	
Gaol—By-law No. 100		
First Street Bridge—By-law No. 194	6,000.00	
Bridges, Streets, etc.—By-law No. 271	12,000.00	
City Hall and Market—By-law No. 287	55,000.00	
General Hospital—By-law No. 288	6,000.00	
Eighteenth St. Bridge—By-law No. 219	1,500.00	
Sewerage—By-law No. 321	80,000.00	
Flour Mill—By-law No. 392	9,000.00	
Grading Streets, etc.—re-issue—By-law No. 593	150,000.00	
		412,053.34
Waterworks Debentures—By-law No. 320	$ 75,000.00	
By-law No. 364	40,000.00	
		115,000.00

Floating

Loans Current:

Bills Payable General Account	$ 3,000.00	
Imperial Bank Overdraft—		
Construction Account	3,836.41	
		6,836.41

Loans, Local Improvement:
Bills Payable—

Construction Account	$ 90,000.00	
Pavement Account	101,000.00	
Sewer Account	45,000.00	
		236,000.00
Capital Surplus of Assets over Liabilities		126,918.30
		$896,808.05

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE BRANDON SCHOOL BOARD
Year Ending December 31, 1905

Assets

Balance in Hand	$ 350.78	
Sinking Fund	3,171.95	
Value of Schools, Sites and Furniture	125,000.00	
Balance Owing by City	24,446.00	
		$ 152,968.73

Liabilities

Promissory Note	$ 5,100.00	
Debentures	108,000.00	
		113,100.00

Receipts

Balance, January 1, 1905	$ 23,761.70	
J. H. Hughes & Co.	3,170.85	
Interest on S. Bank Deposit	97.00	
Notes Discounted	5,100.00	
Brandon City—Levy	31,611.00	
Government Grant	6,397.85	
Non-Resident Fees	926.50	
Brandon College (refund)	17.00	
		$ 71,081.99

Expenditure

Building Account	$ 34,134.61	
Interest and Discount	143.55	
Salaries—Teachers	21,321.95	
Secretary-Treasurer	1,876.00	
Fuel	2,058.86	
Debentures Interest	4,980.00	
Expense Account	2,154.08	
Furniture Account	1,270.30	
Stationery Account	181.20	
Laboratory and Library	204.93	
Books	10.90	
Legal Expenses	12.00	
Insurance	582.83	
Deposit Refunded, Harrington	800.00	
Sinking Fund	1,000.00	
Balance in Bank, December 31, 1905	350.78	
		$ 71,081.99

W. WALKER, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Audited and Found Correct,

J. B. BEVERIDGE,
FRANK J. CLARK, *Auditors.*

Typical of the settlers lured to the Assiniboine basin from Ontario, when the West was thrown open to settlement, was this family of Irish origin, the Kavanaghs. Mr. J. C. Kavanagh, Brandon's first postmaster, is the gentleman at left of picture.

The essentials of civilization in 1881 are shown in this picture. The man whittles to pass the time.

Rustic scene on Assiniboine at Brandon, 1899.

Wheat market, Pacific Avenue, Brandon, 1887.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TREAD OF PIONEERS

AMONG THE PIONEER settlers of the western prairies the activities of few families serve to illustrate the opening of a new country as well as that of the Clements. The most prominent member of this family was a Judge who literally grew up with "the added territory."

Nothing could better illustrate the spirit of the age in which this man was a boy, than an oft quoted verse:

> "I hear the tread of pioneers,
> Of Empires yet to be
> The first low wash where yet
> Shall roll a human sea."[1]

Judge Clement had ample opportunity to see the western part of Manitoba, and in particular the "added territory" pass from "green sod to city fair." He drove to Brandon with his father in a horse and buggy after two and a half years on the homestead, so that he knew both rural and city life from the earliest days. He watched the tide of immigration roll. Most of the settlers came by train and stepped off at the C.P.R. station. Some came in by boat, some by ox cart, but whatever way they arrived young Clement was there to see them come. His first impression of primitive life in a mushroom Brandon was that it was a decided holiday after life on the homestead. Stephen was then fourteen years old and at the age when the frequent change incident to the birth pangs of a new city attracted one most. Nevertheless the dominant feeling that remained with him down the years was an admiration akin to reverence, for the early settlers. These men and women had faith in the west; they had sufficient courage in the face of great sacrifices to make their dreams come true. He always considered himself lucky in being the son of pioneers who brought him to the land of opportunity and that he was exceptionally lucky because his family arrived before the larger waves of immigration rolled.

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[1] Whittier.

Stephen Clement's father was born and raised on a farm in the County of Simcoe, Ontario. Of Empire Loyalist stock, he earned money in splitting rails. A desire for intellectual advancement led him to obtain a Teacher's Certificate from the Normal School in Toronto. He taught school for two years in the U.S.A., and returning to Canada became deputy sheriff of Barrie, Ontario. Shortly after his marriage, he built and carried on a general store in Cookstown near Barrie. In that store each evening the *Toronto Globe* was read to a group of men sitting round the stove. Among the topics discussed were—Manitoba taken into Confederation, the building of the C.P.R. which would link east with west, a circular about Bird Tail District offering a town lot in the town of Birtle, N.W.T., where the Dominion Land Titles Office was located, to any settler who made entry for a homestead. The promoter of the scheme to attract settlers was J. S. Crawford, of Birtle, an uncle of Hon. Crawford Norris who was Premier of Manitoba from 1915-1922.

In the spring of 1879, Deputy Sheriff Clement was sufficiently influenced by the stream of propaganda to come west to spy out the land. He brought his own horse and buggy by railroad through Chicago to St. Boniface and thence to Winnipeg. Travelling through High Bluff, Portage la Prairie and Gladstone, he at length came to the western boundary of Manitoba, then near Carberry and entered the Northwest Territories, which stretched to the Rocky Mountains. The spring trail became impassable so the buggy was abandoned and he proceeded on horseback through Minnedosa to select a homestead at Shoal Lake. He then rode to the Dominion Lands Office at Birtle where the government lands' agent was E. Clementi Smith, who afterwards opened a Lands Office at Brandon. According to the Dominion Lands Act, each settler was entitled, on payment of $10, to make entry for a quarter section of land (160 acres) as a homestead, and also had the privilege of pre-empting another quarter section for $1 per acre, payable in ten yearly instalments. When Clement made entry for his lands, he found a group outside the Lands Office having a heated discussion because Clementi Smith, under some new regulation in the Land Law, was demanding a pre-emption fee of $2 per acre. The gathering objected to paying the increased amount. Clement was not

affected because he had only entered for a homestead. He told the objectors that he was returning to Ontario and would bring the matter to the attention of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald if they so desired. The disputants agreed. When Clement returned to Cookstown he requested Dalton McCarthy, the then member for Simcoe County in the Dominion House, to take up the matter with the Minister of the Interior. The outcome was, this particular land was granted to Clement's new friends for $1 per acre.

During the winter of 1880-1881 Sheriff Clement sold his merchandise and stock and prepared to set out for Manitoba.

The usual method of migration was to hire a railway freight car. The sheriff did so. He loaded into it two teams of horses, two cows, two wagons, household effects, clothing, guns, etc. The three oldest boys accompanied their father. The youngest of the three was Stephen Junior, the source of these notes. He was then twelve years of age. The caravan left Ontario April 1, 1880. Mrs. Clement was to bring the rest of the family later in the summer, after a shack had been built. The first contingent arrived at St. Boniface April 9, 1880.

The party set out from St. Boniface for Shoal Lake with two covered wagons called "Prairie Schooners," a phaeton tied behind one, two cows behind the other. They followed the route then known as the Battleford-Edmonton trail. Sloughs were the bane of the travellers. The only thing to do when one became mired was to unload and carry the goods to dry land and then double up oxen and haul out the mired wagon. A newcomer encountered on the trail became so discouraged that he sold his outfit at a heavy loss to a neighbouring settler and started back for Ontario. Clement Senior entered into conversation with this man and encouraged him so much that the man's spirits revived and he decided to join his new friends provided he could recover his outfit. After a long argument with the purchaser and the return of the purchase price, together with a supplementary grant of $10, the transfer was made. The new trail companion travelled to Minnedosa, became a successful farmer there and later became a member of the provincial legislature. This was but one of the incidents of the "voyage"—

for voyage it nearly was—with mud and ice and snow and water. The party arrived at Shoal Lake May 3, 1880.

The Clements did not at first build a house. A tent was pitched and the family began to cultivate the land. No harrows were to hand, so long poplar poles were pointed with iron teeth driven into the wood. Cross pieces were nailed to the poles and so a crude cultivator was formed. The boys were soon initiated into the mysteries of ploughing with oxen. The harrow was much too light but this was soon rectified by placing large stones on the poles. A good crop of oats, wheat and potatoes was the result of their efforts. The crop was cut with three cradles, and then the junior member bound the sheaves. Hay cut with a scythe was stacked for the winter and during the summer these pioneers broke and "back set" sufficient land for the 1881 crop.

Meals on the homestead were at first cooked in the open. The only meat available was salt pork known as "sow's belly." Milk and cream and porridge were available at all times. The only sauce was hard work. Early to bed was the order of the day.

As there were no carpenters in the vicinity of Clement's homestead, they looked around for a house and, after living all the summer and late into October in a tent, they were glad to secure a building used as a mail "station." It was situated on the south bank of Shoal Lake and had been built by James, afterwards the Honourable James McKay, Minister of Public Works in the Norquay Government. McKay held a contract from the Dominion Government for the delivery of mail between Winnipeg and Battleford. To facilitate his undertaking, mail stations were erected about forty miles apart. Each station was a one-storey log building with a fireplace. There was also a warehouse and a stable. Each building was thatched and plastered with mud. The huts stabled Indian ponies, which were attached "four in hand" to a democrat. It might be compared to the Wells-Fargo Pony Express in the U.S.A. As the mail came through every three weeks, the nearest neighbours undertook to look after the horses and round them up when the "express" was expected. The young Clements grew to be experts in rounding up ponies and having them ready. When October came,

McKay died and the mail contract expired so that the "mail stations" became vacant. The Shoal Lake station was the first prairie home of Mrs. Clement who arrived in late October from High Bluff, Manitoba. Arrival from the latter place was due to the fact that the river steamer only reached that point on that particular trip because of lack of water in the river. She was met there by her husband. They spent the winter of 1880-1881 at the mail station. During that season grandfather Dixon and his son-in-law took a trip to Ontario. Louis Clement, the judge's brother, accompanied them to Winnipeg to which town a trip of nearly 200 miles had to be made for groceries. The year 1881 was an eventful one. Grandfather Dixon and his son-in-law returned from Ontario in the early spring with a three-tiered wagon box and a new team of horses. Red Fife wheat seed filled the box. The precious grain had to be hauled all the way to Birtle but when the harvest was completed there was a rich return of forty bushels to the acre. As there were no trains to haul the product to market, some was sold to neighbours from far off places for seed at $2 per bushel, the remainder was made into flour, fed to hogs or used on the homestead as seed. Things were "looking up." A new home was built and the family moved in. Home on the range had become pleasant.

The year 1881 was that in which a strip of land was added to Manitoba's western border. Premier Norquay's government divided the "added territory" into five constituencies. Remembrance of Clement's father's kind deed came back to his friends of the Land Registry Office. These settlers sought their benefactor and asked him to contest the election on their behalf. Thus Clement senior became a contestant for the constituency of Shoal Lake. One of his opponents was a Major Boulton, a veteran of the Riel Rebellion, and destined one day to be a senator. Another opponent was named Leacock, an uncle of Stephen Leacock the Canadian economist and humourist. Leacock ran as the nominee of Premier Norquay. Being duly elected member for Shoal Lake, Sherriff Clement set out from his homestead for Brandon to journey to the Legislature at Winnipeg. Full of life and vitality, he with Davidson (M.L.A. for the area north of Shoal Lake) and John Crerar (first mayor and first lawyer

of Minnedosa) built a raft on the river near First Street, Brandon, and on it erected a tent. They set out on this "Robinson Crusoe" structure to attend their first meeting of the legislature. They reached Portage la Prairie in safety and continued thence by train to Winnipeg. During the session, which opened in April, 1882, Brandon, at the request of John Sifton, was incorporated as a city. The province was divided into three judicial districts and three new sheriffs were appointed. Previous to this, Sheriff Inkster served all Manitoba. His territory was now confined to the eastern section while Clement became sheriff of the western judicial district.

On July 27, 1882, the new sheriff received his appointment with the stipulation that he must reside in Brandon. When he came to reside there he found the county court offices located on the west side of Twelfth Street south of the apartment block now known as Daymin Court. The offices were newly erected and consisted of a one-storey frame building about the size of a one-automobile garage. Its unpainted boards were not novel. There were many people glad to have boards of any kind. William Barr, the first County Court Clerk, had just taken up quarters in the new office and he was pleased to give the new sheriff space for a table and two chairs. Stephen Junior was summoned August 1, 1882, from the homestead to act as general factotum and even as process server. He entered the city over First Street Bridge at which tolls were then collected. The toll man's office was that small building which once stood just north of the *"Brandon Sun"* office. His first meal in the city was at a "tent hotel" on the west side of Twelfth Street, south of Princess Avenue. After dinner the sheriff received his first writ of summons to serve. It necessitated a visit to Grand Valley.

The first Writ of Execution served in Brandon was on the proprietor of a tent store, which contained ready-made clothes, gents' furnishings, blankets, etc. It was located on Rosser Avenue between Fifth and Sixth Streets. J. D. McGregor, who later became Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba,[1] sold horses and oxen close to the site of this tent.

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[1] January 25, 1929.

The first sitting of the King's Bench, the Criminal Assize, in Brandon took place in the fall of 1883. It was held in the first Council Chamber over the original fire hall at the corner of Princess Avenue and Seventh Street. Judge Dubuc presided.

The first court house and jail were built by the Norquay Government. At the time the financial status of the Provincial Government was weak, whereas that of Brandon was strong. In the circumstances, it was agreed that the city should issue the debentures and the province would guarantee them. To compensate the city an act was passed in the Legislature which allowed Brandon to collect ten per cent each year from the other western municipalities. The system was maintained till 1908 when the debentures matured and a new Brandon County Court House was erected. Between 1885 and 1895 Stephen Clement matriculated, and completed his law course at Manitoba University while articled to Sir J. A. M. Aikens, one-time lieutenant-governor of Manitoba. When he returned to Brandon in July, 1895, it was to open a practice. Only one deed was drawn the first year. In 1896 the tide turned. The Laurier Liberal Government came into power and Clifford Sifton, M.P. for Brandon, became Minister of the Interior. The gold rush started in the Yukon. The immigration era commenced. The young lawyer prospered and refused to be lured to distant fields.

Judge Clement remembered most of the old timers. Joe Woodworth was a not-so-tall man of five feet ten with a heavy moustache and side whiskers. In winter he wore a seal coat. He died rowing across the Gulf of Mexico. E. Clementi Smith was Brandon's No. 1 aristocrat. Vivian, pioneer realtor, loved to light cigars with dollar bills—he was "a modest man." The judge's memories came tumbling like a many-sided waterfall — always changing, always pleasant, never ending.

CHAPTER XXIX

LAW AND ORDER

The preservation of law and order is an important matter in any community. It falls into two departments, the police and the judiciary.

In Brandon County's earliest days laws was enforced by the provincial police. Their representative locally was John O'Flynn, a genial, popular, husky Irishman.

The justices of the peace were James Strachan, who received his commission December 24, 1881, and Lawrence Buchan, who was commissioned on January 28 of the following year.

With the granting of a charter a city police force was necessary. At first the force consisted of A. L. McMillan[1] as chief, and two constables, Donald Campbell and John M. Keays. The chief was appointed July 27, 1882. He held the position till his accidental death in a gun accident at Smart's Hardware Store, December 16, 1885. In addition to his position as chief he was also health inspector. The second police chief was Peter Duncan. He assumed the position January 19, 1885.

After one year's tenure of office Peter Duncan was replaced on February 1, 1886, by Jack Foster. The latter was evidently a detective of some ability as Hill, in his "History of Manitoba" refers to him as being an investigator of incendiarism in Portage la Prairie about 1890.

On April 1, 1892, James Kirkcaldy became chief. His duties cannot have been very onerous because his staff consisted of himself and Brandon's first sergeant, Sim Hanna. Charles Currie and a constable named Quipp, were soon added to the tiny force. Sometime about 1895, on the resignation of Sim Hanna, Walter Boyd took his place. The latter, in turn, replaced Chief Kirkcaldy on July 17, 1905.

Chief Boyd's régime from 1905-1912 was regarded as very lax, and as is usual in such matters, a disciplinarian was

[1] In an obituary notice in the BRANDON SUN, December 17, 1885, for Chief McMillan who died the previous day we read. "Chief McMillan was a hard worker. He cleared away the SCUM OF HUMANITY working on the C.P.R. construction trains."

sought to replace him. For one year, 1912-1913, a chief named Berry, a military man by training and disposition, replaced Chief Boyd. Mr. Berry increased the force to twenty-two men, and law enforcement was rigid. The citizens who clamoured for discipline now requested a less rigid rule.[1]

Sergeant West acted as chief till John Esslemont assumed the command in 1913.

All through World War I Mr. Esslemont, a genial Scotsman, directed the destinies of Brandon's police force, but with the end of the conflict the people requested a war veteran, and Joseph Hardy, being appointed, held the chieftaincy till 1923. Since the latter year, Chief H. B. Everett has held the post, the longest tenure of office of any chief in Brandon.

Before we close this note on police it might be mentioned that on January 19, 1883, the city police were appointed provincial police.

The judicial arm of law enforcement is the magistracy. The first magistrate in the city was Mayor Daly. He was not a police magistrate as such but he was a justice of the peace. He was so overworked in the early days that at one meeting of the council he called the attention of the councillors to the fact that by the charter they were ipso facto justices and they should help in deciding cases. Provincial judges and magistrates must have visited the city from time to time, for at the city council meeting July 31, 1882, they were granted the use of the council chamber as a court house. County and city council were respectful to the law. On August 3, 1882, the latter willingly assented to a suggestion from a county council delegation that they give a public reception to County Court Judge Walker.

On December 11, 1882, the city council applied to Lieutenant-Governor Edouard Cauchon to appoint a police magistrate. Two weeks later a Mr. Lockhart was suggested for the appointment. There seems to have been a great deal of discussion as to what salary the city would pay for the position. Eventually the Brandon aldermen decided that $900 a year was a suitable wage. This was not considered

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[1] A reference to the population graph indicates that the chief difficulties may have been due to the large influx of immigrants.

sufficient by the government but it was accepted as a working basis and appointments were made. Those who have held this position with the date of their appointment are as follows: L. M. Fortier (March 12, 1883-1887), John C. Todd (March 18, 1887-Jan. 21, 1895), Kenneth Campbell (1895-Dec. 1900), Henry James (1900-1909), T. M. Percival (June 23, 1904-May 1, 1912), William Henry Bates (1912-1915), Arthur P. Jeffrey (Sept. 3, 1915-   ), Alexander C. Fraser (Aug. 11, 1915-Dec. 20, 1933), Archibald W. H. Smith (Dec. 20, 1933-1938), Robert M. Matheson (Jan. 31, 1939-1944), Wm. Stordy (Dec. 30, 1944).

All police magistrates' appointments in Manitoba, with certain exceptions, were cancelled in June, 1928. Mr. A. C. Fraser was one of those continued in office.

Court Officials

In the year 1882 Manitoba was divided into the three judicial districts—East, Central and Western. The latter contained the county and city of Brandon. There have been four county court judges, as they are called, for the Western district—namely, Judge D. M. Walker, 1883-1892; Judge Cumberland, 1892-1927; Judge Stephen Clement, February 1, 1927 to January, 1944, and Judge A. G. Buckingham, appointed January, 1944. The sheriffs have been Stephen Clement (father of the judge of that name) July 1882 to November 1901; W. Henderson, 1901 to February 1, 1921. Owing to the illness of this sheriff a deputy in the person of Malcolm McGregor acted from July 29, 1919, till the date of the latter's appointment as permanent official on February 1, 1921.

Each court had a clerk. The county court in the years since its creation has had the following: William Barr 1882, Ezekiel Evans, April 13, 1885, W. J. Ferguson, January 29, 1889, L. J. Clement, August 3, 1893, Robert Darrach, October 27, 1893, E. W. G. Wiswell, August 3, 1910, Samuel Lowes, November 2, 1915, Robert Darrach, April 30, 1927, Harold D. Clement, July 1, 1936.

The next important officer attached to the county court was the bailiff. A convenient division between their duties is the fact that the sheriff deals with matters over $800, the

latter with bills under $800. The bailiffs in the early days changed as often as the provincial government was voted out of office. The bailiffs were John McCort 1882; W. J. Parker, March 12, 1891; W. Currie, October 28, 1893; James Weeden, April 17, 1894; A. C. Douglas, September 26, 1902; Wm. Henderson, November 10, 1903, and Harold Dixon Clement, deputy sheriff, 1936. As the work attached to the Brandon County Court was not as much as at first anticipated, we find that Robert Darrach also filled the duties of registrar, clerk of crown and pleas, and clerk of the surrogate court. Harold Clement also acted as surrogate court clerk and registrar. The only other registrar was a Mr. M. H. Guerney, 1882. Robert Darrach, as deputy county court clerk, county court clerk, registrar, clerk of crown and pleas, and clerk of the surrogate, gave over forty years to the court life of the Western Judicial District.

EARLY EDUCATION IN THE ASSINIBOINE BASIN

French Schools Prior to 1870

ON LORD SELKIRK's arrival in Canada about 1817, there were several hundred Frenchmen and at least 100 Scots and Irish in the Red River Settlement. All told, there were not more than 350 people. Taking four as the average household, there would be about eighty children in the neighbourhood. The two races were fairly well divided on the basis of religion and language. The Catholic Selkirk settlers, mindful of the Penal Laws operative for 200 years in the British Isles, gravitated toward the French in matters of education and religion. The need for education was realized very early. As the settlements were divided by languages, religion and water barrier, the tendency was for two educational systems to develop.

Wherever the Catholic Church has existed, the school has always been closely associated with the Church, hence, no sooner had Reverend Joseph Norbert Provencher established a church mission on the Red River than he organized a school to teach reading, writing and catechism. His companion, Father Dumoulin, opened a school at Pembina, and Father William Edge was placed in charge of the sixty children. The first Catholic lay teacher was a Monsieur Sauve, who taught Latin, History, Grammar, in addition to the primers. He replaced Father Edge in 1821. The main expenses of the Red River Mission was the school. Its upkeep was all borne by the voluntary donations of the parents. In 1823, as Pembina was found to be in the United States, the mission withdrew to St. Boniface and St. Francois Xavier. At these points the elementary subjects were taught, and in addition Latin, including the works of Cicero, Sallust, etc.

The first two students ready for the high school were a half-breed named Chenier and a Canadian named Senecal. The date was 1824.

The French priests next tried out an agricultural educa-
tion with the Indians, but beyond instilling an elementary
interest in wheat growing their efforts were futile.

The first lady teacher was Angelique Nolin, the daughter
of a North West Company officer. She came to the Red in
1829. Miss Nolin taught for several years at St. Boniface
and Baie St. Paul (St. Eustache).

Agricultural Education and Industrial Arts

In 1833, Father Belcourt established small agricultural
schools at St. Eustache and at the junction of the English and
Winnipeg Rivers. The Hudson's Bay Company, under Sir
George Simpson, paid the salaries of two women teachers of
weaving, whilst the Church authorities provided board and
lodging. From this arose the *first industrial school*, which was
opened at St. Boniface, Manitoba, in 1838, with the two
expert teachers from Quebec. In 1839 the building and its
contents were completely destroyed by fire.

In 1843, as lay teachers did not like to pioneer on the
prairies, Bishop Provencher induced four Grey Nuns—
Sisters Valade, La Grave, Coutlee and La France to come
west.[1] The Grey Nuns arrived in 1844, and in June, 1845,
after one year had elapsed, there were eighty children in the
class rooms. There were now five schools and some part-time
institutions under the Bishop's control. In 1858 there were
three Convent schools, viz., at St. Boniface, White Horse
Plains or St. Francois Xavier and St. Norbert.

The question of teachers was a vexatious one. It was settled
definitely in 1845 when the Oblate Fathers came to St. Boni-
face. Father Tache became successor to Bishop Provencher
in 1853. He decided to settle the question of teachers for the
girls. In 1874 the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and
Mary established St. Mary's Academy, Winnipeg. Higher
education was another problem. To solve it St. Boniface
College was established in 1823. In 1834 it had six resident
students. In 1857 there were fifty-seven. Twenty years later,
with St. John's and Manitoba College, it became the Univer-
sity of Manitoba. In 1885 the Jesuits, a teaching order, took

[1] La Jemeraye, La Vérendrye's lieutenant and nephew, was a brother of the foundress
of the Grey Nuns. This may have played a part in this Order deciding on the venture.

over St. Boniface College from the Oblates, a missionary Order. Thus by gradual evolution each advance was made.

The quality of the education of the French schools is commented on with evident surprise in June, 1859, by a Protestant visitor, Lord Southesk. The following extract is taken from his Journal:

EDUCATION IN RED RIVER VALLEY IN 1859

"June 6, 1859—A very agreeable hour was passed by Dr. Rae and myself in visiting the Roman Catholic Nunnery—an educational institution—managed by the Sisters of Charity. These excellent Nuns educated about forty children, mostly from among the French population. We had the pleasure of seeing a few of the pupils, whom Sister C. very obligingly sent for, asking them to give us some specimens of their progress in music. Two nice looking dark girls of fourteen first came in and played several pieces on a pianoforte—which I confess, it surprised me to see *in this remote and inaccessible land;* then two pretty little fair haired children took their place, and, like the others played in a pleasing and very creditable manner. The institution was universally spoken of as most useful and popular and as being in all respects remarkably well conducted."

English Schools Prior to 1870

From the earlier chapters of this book it is evident that the preponderant races in the Assiniboine basin were the French and Scottish and the half-breed offspring of these two peoples. In the earliest years of the Selkirk attempt at colonization, little attention was given to formal education of the children, although the fact that the noble lord had some intentions in that direction is shown by his appointment of Mr. K. McRae as educational supervisor.

In 1817 the settlement was sufficiently organized to give attention to the rudiments of education and a "lot of ten chains frontage" on the river was set aside "for a help to support a teacher."

In 1820 Reverend John West, the Anglican chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company, opened a school three miles north of Fort Garry. George Harbridge was in charge. Whilst he taught the boys reading, writing and arithmetic, his wife taught the girls reading, writing and domestic science.

The Reverend Mr. West opened a boarding school for Indian boys in 1824. Agriculture, gardening and religious truths were stressed. After one year Mr. West was replaced

by Reverend D. T. Jones, who, however, soon handed over the work to Reverend Wm. Cochrane.

In 1828, the daughters of the Hudson's Bay Company servants were seeking an education. To meet their needs another school was established. There were now four school buildings. Statistics on all the schools are not available but in the Indian Boarding School there were at least thirty pupils.

A school was erected at St. Andrews in 1831. A young man was hired to teach the boys. Mrs. Cochrane gave some attention to the girls. Strange to say all these efforts were made by Anglican clergy for children in the main, Presbyterian.

In the fall of 1833, a school was established near Lockport, twelve miles from the Rapids, to educate the Indians in agriculture, weaving, spinning, and possibly a minimum of reading, writing and arithmetic. Joseph Cooke was the teacher. By 1848 this school had eighteen Indian and seventeen half-breed pupils of both sexes.

The school established by Mr. West in 1828, progressed. It was supported by the wealthier classes. When, in 1849, Bishop Anderson replaced Reverend John MacCallum, Mr. West's successor, he named the institution St. John's College. It was closed in 1864 and reopened in 1866.

The Scots organized a school at Kildonan in 1849. John Inkster, who was the first teacher, worked for $65 a year. Other teachers were Matheson, Adam McBeth, Hector McBeth, Ross, Harper, Polson, Whinister, and Munroe. Names like these serve to show the origin of the pupils.

Manitoba College, Winnipeg, was founded under Presbyterian auspices in 1871. In 1882 we find it occupying a site on Ellice Avenue—a site occupied in 1931 by St. Paul's Roman Catholic College. Manitoba and Wesley Colleges, (the latter founded in 1896 by the Methodist Church), joined in 1938 to form United College.

Education in Modern Times

The year 1870 saw the tiny Province of Manitoba joining Confederation. Its total population of 12,000 were not all of one mind as regards the union, because many feared that they would lose their rights and privileges. The predominant settlers, however, were in favour of the move and the

remainder were not uninfluenced by the appeals of Catholic Irishmen such as Thomas D'Arcy McGee, and the influence of the Quebec French in confederation.

From the earliest times the clergy of every denomination had helped to establish educational facilities. It was then to be expected that the first school laws passed in 1871 would have a religious basis.

The Act had six sections whose main provisions were:

1. That a joint Board of Education containing six Catholic and six Protestant members should control provincial education.

2. Protestants should manage Protestant schools, Catholics should manage Catholic schools.

3. School districts could be set up with the approval of the board.

4. Each school district could decide the manner of financial support of the school, viz., by taxation or subscription.

5. Each section of the board examined and licensed its own teachers.

6. A grant was to be given by the Provincial Government to the Board of Education, and then divided proportionately between the two sections. Each section was to pay its superintendent of education not more than $600. The balance was to be divided among schools of the section to which it belonged.

The first joint superintendents appointed were Joseph Royal and Molyneaux St. John. Twenty-four school districts, twelve of which were Protestant and twelve Roman Catholic were erected. The Dual System gradually expanded. Educational statistics for the period are interesting but not always accurate because it was difficult under pioneer conditions to take a proper school census. If one keeps this fact in mind much can be learned about the progress of education in the postage stamp Province. The following table serves as an introduction.

Year	Population of Province	Number of Schools R. Catholic	Protestant	Attendance R. Catholic	Protestant
1870	11,962	—	—		—
1871	25,228	—	16	—	816
1872			17		1095
1873			17		1108
1874			22		1248

The absence of a census of school children was irksome to the superintendents, so on December 2, 1875, we find them submitting two to the Board. By inference, the charts show where Manitoba's population was then centred and the extent to which educational facilities were at hand. We print both charts.

MANITOBA'S FIRST SCHOOL CENSUS
December 2, 1875

The Superintendents of Education submitted the following abstract of Census Returns:

PROTESTANT DISTRICTS				ROMAN CATHOLIC DISTRICTS			
Name of District	Boys	Girls	Ttl.	Name of District	Boys	Girls	Ttl.
Winnipeg	274	217	491	Notre Dame de			
Cook's Creek	16	21	37	Lorette, E.	22	14	36
Kildonan, W.	27	40	67	St. Laurent	38	43	81
Springfield	24	29	53	St. Charles, E.	27	22	49
North St. Andrew's	79	100	179	St. Anne, W.	62	63	125
Mapleton	65	73	138	St. Boniface, E.	108	120	228
Livingstone	9	11	20	St. Frances			
Woodside	5	10	15	Xavier, W.	108	90	198
North St. Peter's	61	60	121	St. Norbert S.			
Boyne	8	13	21	No. 4	31	19	50
Burnside	22	19	41	Notre Dame de			
St. Andrew's Centre	92	106	198	Lorette, W.	15	5	20
Headingly	40	51	91	St. Norbert, No. 3.	34	39	73
Palestine	23	22	45	St. Vital	62	56	118
Park's Creek	75	70	145	St. Agathe	99	86	185
Emerson	8	13	21	St. Frances			
High Bluff	73	55	128	Xavier, E.	48	108	156
St. James	44	48	92	Stinking River	36	30	66
Poplar Point E.	39	26	65	Ste. Anne, E.	19	19	38
St. Paul's	42	42	84	St. Norbert, No. 2.	53	50	103
Rockwood	20	24	44	Bai St. Paul, W.	51	41	92
Portage la Prairie	57	70	127	St. Frances			
Westbourne	16	16	32	Xavier, Centre	43	46	89
Poplar Point, W.	65	49	114	Baie St. Paul, E.	69	60	129
Golden Stream	1	4	5	Winnipeg	36	33	69
High Bluff, N.	35	27	62	St. Charles, W.			91
Kildonan, E.	58	54	112	Grand Total			2,063
S. St. Peter's	66	59	125				
Kilmory	7	6	13				
Woodlands	12	16	28				
Grand Total			2,714				

The data for the two subsequent years are as follows:

Year	Population of Manitoba	No. of Schools		Attendance	
		R. Catholic	Protestant	R. Catholic	Protestant
1875	—	21	26	—	1595
1876	—	22	30	1134	1600

The schools mentioned in the census were as a rule taught by teachers just come from Eastern Canada. They were inspected by local clergy.

As the years passed more settlers arrived. The following
table shows that whilst Protestant immigration increased
after 1881 Catholic immigration remained very nearly
stationary.

Year	Population of Province	Number of Schools R. C.	Prot.	Attendance R.C.	Prot.	Average Attendance
1881	62,260	----	128	3,011	4,919	2,400
1882		----	182	3,193	6,972	3,285
1883		.45	271	3,705	10,831	5,064
1884		46	359	3,812	11,708	6,520
1885		50	426	·3,878	13,074	7,847
1886	106,640	51	496	4,118	15,926	8,611
1887		----	522	(4364)	16,940	·9,715
1888		----	557	(census)	18,000	9,856
1889		90	629		18,358	11,242

This was the statistical position when on March 6, 1890,
the last meeting of the Board of Education of Manitoba was
held. As the members filed out in silence a new era of strain
seemed to be ushered in.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

THE CLOSE of the period 1870-1888 found the tide of immigration, which commenced in 1870, still rising but not yet having reached the peak which it gained in 1910. The actual figures are as follows:

Year	Population	Increase
1881	62,260	
1886	108,640	46,380
1891	152,506	53,866
1896	193,425	40,919
1901	255,211	61,786
1906	365,688	110,447
1911	461,394	95,706
1916	553,860	92,466
1921	610,118	56,258

As these immigrants entered the province they were very alert to rumours of railway lines being built in certain directions, and they selected their homesteads close to the projected routes. But the railroads were not built because each railway bill was disallowed by the Dominion Government, which was fostering a transcontinental line. The outcome was that the Conservative Dominion Government was highly unpopular and the Provincial Government, which was likewise Conservative, was not less disliked by settlers.

The general election held on July 19, 1888, served the electorate's purpose. Thirty-three Liberals were returned out of a legislature of thirty-eight.

When the new government assembled, Thomas Greenway became Premier with Joseph Martin, Attorney-General. Mr. Clifford Sifton, who was to replace the Hon. Joseph Martin, on May 4, 1891, was the member for Brandon North.

The new legislature soon began to put its house in order. One of the matters needing attention was education. The intentions of the Cabinet became evident when it requested and secured $14,000 belonging to a Catholic separate school fund. The Government was considering the introduction of drastic changes in the educational arrangements.

Three possibilities must have been considered. Should the Government retain the dual system then in vogue in

Manitoba and Eastern Canada. Under it both Catholics and Protestants were taught the elements of their religions in separate schools under state control.

The purely secular system would next be examined. Under this system of state control no religious subjects were taught, religion being regarded as a matter for the churches.

Then there remained the via media—the middle way—in which a minimum of religion was tolerated. An agreed religious syllabus would be used.

Each system had its advocates, each of whom regarded his plan as the best. To make matters more involved, Roman Catholics believed that they had secured special rights in educational matters when negotiations were carried out at Ottawa prior to Manitoba joining confederation. Rightly or wrongly the Cabinet of Premier Greenway chose the via media, which is now known as the Manitoba Public School System. To secure its desires it presented two bills to the legislature—one bill proposed to set up a Department of Education headed by a cabinet minister and aided by an Advisory Board—the other bill dealt with the organization of a Public School System. The bills soon became acts and in the maelstrom the dual system disappeared. A bitter legal-political controversy followed the passing of the act but the following table seems to show that its terms were generally accepted almost from the beginning.

Year	Population of Province	No. of Schools	Public School Population
1890		627	23,256
1891	152,506	612	23,871
1892		660	23,244
1893		718	28,706
1894		884	32,680
1895		982	35,371
1896	193,425	1,032	37,987

Our system of democracy had set up many devices to protect minorities. It forms an interesting study to see each of those devices tested the following years. Most impartial observers will agree that democracy was not ill served. We now enumerate the various attempts to secure the retention of the dual system of education or to at least modify the Manitoba School Act so that it would be acceptable to minorities. The

first attempt to test the constitutionality of the Act was the suit of Dr. J. K. Barrett, a ratepayer of Winnipeg, versus the City of Winnipeg regarding the right of paying taxes to a Catholic School Board. The case was tried before Hon. Judge Killam, November 24, 1890. A decision unfavourable to the advocates of separate schools was handed down.

The next step was an appeal by the Catholic minority to the full court of Queen's Bench Manitoba. Judges Taylor, Dubuc and Bain tried the case. Judges Taylor and Bain gave their decision in favour of the City of Winnipeg. Judge Dubuc dissented. Judge Killam was the other judge. He held to his previous decision. The Barrett decision was handed down February 2, 1891.

The matter was next referred to the Supreme Court of Canada. The case was pleaded there from May 27 to 29, 1891. Judgment was handed down October 28, 1891. Judges Ritchie, Strong, Fournier, Taschereau, and Patterson were unanimously in favour of Mr. Barrett. The order of the court of Queen's Bench Manitoba was reversed. The law was declared illegal and the City of Winnipeg was condemned in costs.

The City of Winnipeg next appealed the Barrett decision before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. A decision unfavourable to separate schools was handed down, July 30, 1892.

On September 20, 1892, a petition was presented to the Governor-General-in-Council by the Executive Committee of a National Congress which met in St. Boniface on August 15 and 16, 1892. It was signed, among others, by Bishop Tache, J. E. Prendergast, mayor of St. Boniface, and J. S. Ewart, lawyer for the minority.

The petitioners prayed: that "the Governor-General-in-Council would give such directions, and make such provisions as would relieve the Roman Catholics of Manitoba of unjust burdens placed on them by The Manitoba School Act, 1890."

The Dominion Government, which was then Conservative, decided to appoint a subcommittee of the Council to examine the right of the appellants to appeal. It is interesting to note the name of Mr. T. M. Daly, Brandon's first mayor

and then minister of the Interior (1892-1896) as one of the members of the Committee. The appeal was considered by this committee February 21, 1893, and on July 31 of that year it decided to refer the question as to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. Bryce states "The court held that parliament had no competence in this matter, but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed this decision."[1] In February, 1895, the Governor-General-in-Council heard the appeal and ordered the Manitoba Government to introduce a remedial bill to secure relief for the Roman Catholics. The Provincial Government refused to acquiesce and the Dominion Government then introduced remedial legislation of its own. This legislation was not completed as parliament dissolved by "effluxion of time."

Sir Charles Tupper who became Conservative leader on April 26, 1896, fought a hard fight for amendment to the School Act, but Wilfred Laurier was elected on the war note of "provincial rights," and a promise that the Dominion Liberal party would settle the question amicably with the Provincial Liberal party. The new Dominion Prime Minister met with Premier Greenway of Manitoba and the meetings resulted in "the Laurier-Greenway agreement"—the principal clauses of which are to be found in all Manitoba school registers. They were incorporated in the Manitoba School Act in 1897.

Among the leading politicians taking part in the Manitoba School question was Clifford (later Sir Clifford) Sifton. Clifford was born in 1861 at St. John's, Ontario. One of the first settlers in Brandon, he was called to the Bar in 1882, and practiced for several years. From 1888 to 1896 Sifton was Liberal member from Brandon in the Manitoba Legislature, and from 1891 to 1896 he was Attorney General for the Greenway Government. Thus he was the member of the Cabinet having a great deal to do with the framing of the Manitoba School Act and its modifications in the Laurier-Greenway agreement.

In 1896, Clifford Sifton became Minister of the Interior in the Dominion parliament. In this capacity he advertised

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[1]Bryce, A History of Manitoba, p. 281, Toronto: The Canada History Co., 1906.

the Northwest, and brought about that flood of immigration from central Europe which did so much to build up the prairie economy. In 1905 Sifton resigned from the Dominion Cabinet. His home, when in Brandon, was on Princess Avenue East.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE BEGINNING OF A PRAIRIE SCHOOL SYSTEM

THE IMMEDIATE effect of the passing of the Manitoba School Act, of 1871, on the residents of the Upper Assiniboine was at first nil because Brandon did not come within the Lieu- tenant-Governor's jurisdiction till ten years later. Education then was to be supervised by the Protestant and the Roman Catholic sections of the Provincial Board of Education. The membership of the former board was as follows:

His Lordship Most Reverend Robert Machray; Rev. W. G. Pinkham, superintendent of education; Rev. J. Robertson; Lt.-Col. Wm. Kennedy; Rev. Professor Hart, B.A., B.D.; Rev. Canon O'Meara, M.A.; Rev. S. D. Rice, D.D.; Wm. Hespeler, Esq.; Rev. Alexander Matheson; W. J. James, Esq., B.A.; W. B. Hall, Esq.

The working of this twofold system can be studied in the Brandon county, village, and city system. The issue of the Manitoba Gazette for September 15, 1881, proclaims that The School District of Brandon was founded by the Protest- ant section of the Board of Education, September 7, 1881, and that it embraced sections 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, township 10, range 19 W. This was not the last time that the Brandon County Councillors prompted the formation of school dis- tricts, for the edition of the Gazette for May 6, 1882, has a proclamation in the following terms: "Formed by the Coun- cil of Brandon—School Districts of Northfield, Grand Valley, Millford, and Souris City."

For purposes of election of trustees the earliest system in the village of Brandon was to call a meeting of the electorate and select suitable candidates by open voting. There seems to be no record of the person responsible for the actual sum- moning of the first meeting to elect trustees or of the time and place. The minutes of the first six months of the school board's existence are lost so that one must reconstruct the proceedings as best one may. The first school board was as follows:

Hon. John Norquay, Premier
of Manitoba 1878-1888.
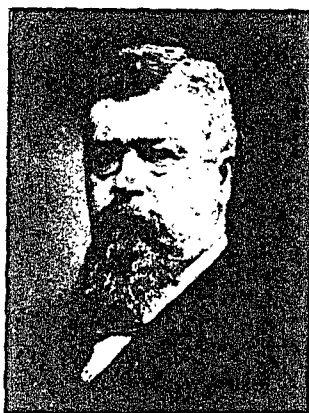
Hon. Thomas Greenway,
Premier of Manitoba
1888-1900.

Hon. Joseph Edouard Cau-
chon, P.C. Lieutenant-Gov-
ernor of Manitoba, 1876-1882.

Hon. James Emile Pierre Pren-
dergast, 1858-1945. Provincial
Secretary at time of Manitoba
School Question.
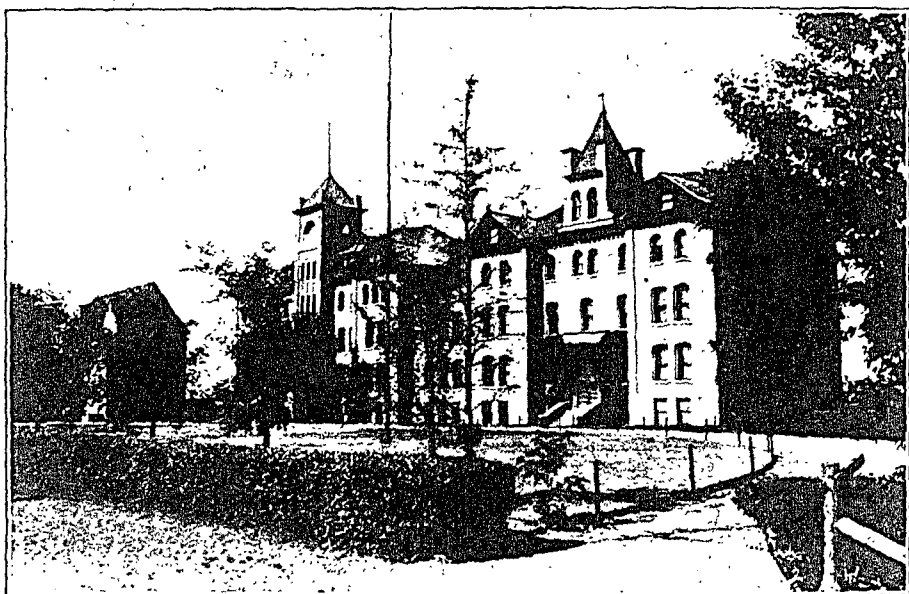
Brandon College, affiliated with the University of Manitoba.

St. Michael's Academy, Brandon.

Ward I

Joseph E. Woodworth 85, John J. Parker 84, William Winter 82.

Ward II

Dr. Alex. Fleming 85, Rev. John Ferries 84, Robert Phippen 83.

Ward III

W. J. White 85, Charles Pilling 84, Thomas Lockhart 83.

Ward IV

L. Buchan 85, Jas. A. Deacon 84, Ed. Head 83.

The first chairman was Dr. Alex. Fleming. Shortly after the School District was set up, approval was given to a petition of the Protestant ratepayers requesting that a ward system might be arranged. This was acceeded to and the election was held on this basis. At a general meeting, candidates were nominated and elected for each section of the village. The numbers given, very possibly represent the votes secured by each candidate. Section 23, of the school Board Amendments Act, of 1885, defined the name of each of Brandon's boards. The one under consideration was, in 1885, officially named "The School Trustees for the Protestant School District of Brandon, Number 129, in the Province of Manitoba." This title was sent out by J. B. Somerset, Superintendent of Education, Education Offices, Winnipeg, May 26, 1885. To return to the ward system, which was abolished in 1921, the North ward was the area around the modern North ward or Livingstone School, the South ward was that around Alexandra School, the West ward was the district around Park School. The East ward school, when it did rise, was on the site of the Jewish Hall on Princess Avenue and Fourth Street. The particular members of the Protestant Section of the Board of Education in Winnipeg, who sanctioned the establishment of Brandon's First School District, were Rev. Dr. Rice, Rev. Canon O'Meara, and the Venerable Archdeacon Pinkham.

The First School

After the setting up of the school district on September 17, 1881, the next step was to build a school and hire a teacher. The first school was a frame building. It is still in existence but "bricked" at the rear of the Strathcona Block on Tenth Street, Brandon. It can easily be viewed by walking down the lane between Tenth and Eleventh Streets and between Princess and Rosser Avenues.

The school, which opened on or about February 19, 1882, was in charge of Thomas Jasper Lamont, of Bruce County, Ontario.

Brandon's first teacher was born May 13, 1858, so that he was about twenty-three years of age when he arrived in the West, intending to teach at Rapid City. The latter vacancy was filled by the late Senator Schaffener and a Miss Allen, who later became Mr. Schaffener's wife. Mr. Lamont was advised to try Brandon School District. He took the advice and was successful in his application.

The first enrolment was fifteen pupils. The list—it was not a proper register—has long since been lost, but it is possible to name some of the very early pupils. Among them were: John, Arthur, Sandy, Margaret, Louise Fleming, Mabel Ingram, Minnie, Herb and Will Johnston, children of the proprietor of the Johnston Estate, E. Blake Winter, Kate Shillinglaw, George Winters, a Lesperance boy, a Roncesvalle boy, Clara Gibbons, Grace Johnston, Emma Johnston —later wife to Dr. Montgomery, Jack and Robert Matheson. Later pupils were A. E. McKenzie—the seedman, Harold Hooper, K.C. of Carberry, etc.

The school population rapidly increased. The school bell sent out its notes across the hay fields and in May, 1882, Mary Weightman became second teacher at a salary of $400. Miss Weightman was born at West Hall, Bedford, Northumberland, England, October 14, 1863. Educated at St. George's Square Ladies' College, Edinburgh, and at Ilkley Ladies' College, Yorkshire, Miss Weightman left her homeland in March, 1882.

Attendance continued to increase. The second teacher had 120 names on her register before the first summer holidays. She worked upstairs in an unfinished room. During the

summer of 1882, the upstairs was completed as the principal's room. The downstairs section was divided into two large rooms with partitions running north and south to separate them. A long box stove between the partitions provided heat.

In the fall (October) Charles N. F. Jeffery (later Archdeacon Jeffery, of St. John's Cathedral, Winnipeg) was added as the third teacher. Still the pupils came. Miss Weightman's numbers climbed to ninety, and then a fourth teacher, Miss Mary J. Crooks, was added. At the meeting on April 3, 1883, Charles Jeffery gave notice of his intended resignation in June because of his small salary. At a special meeting of the Board on April 24, 1883, it was decided to hire Jessie McDiarmid as a teacher for the *third department* at a salary of $500. The 1883 directory mentions the teachers in the following order: T. J. Lamont—principal, C. N. Jeffery—first assistant, Miss M. J. Crooks—second assistant, Miss Weightman—third assistant. The registration at the school was increasing so rapidly that at the school board meeting on June 23, 1883, the Rev. J. Boydell, the school inspector, spoke on the advisability of opening a *collegiate department*. The speaker strongly recommended the project. The principal, Mr. Lamont, was "allowed on motion" to make some comments on the same matter.

It is not possible to tell from the School Board minutes when the new school building, a brick structure of two stories, containing four rooms and forming a "T" with the old building, was built. The June 23, 1883, minutes refer to "building a stairs in the *new* building during the vacation." One presumes that it was erected between April and June, 1883.

Brandon Collegiate

On June 23, 1883, the School Board decided to advertise for a teacher "with proper qualifications for the collegiate department." Mr. E. S. Popham secured the position. His official title was "Teacher of the Collegiate Department and Principal of the School." The teachers and their salaries were as follows: Mr. E. S. Popham—$1,200, Mr. Lamont—second class teacher—$800, Miss M. J. Crooks—third class teacher—$600, Miss McDiarmid—fourth class teacher—$500, Miss

Sara Lang—$400. (Miss Weightman resigned in June, 1883, to marry Mr. Lamont).

The Collegiate still retained its rustic aspect, for the Board ordered "A walk to be made to the school house from the fence on Tenth Street."

On January 3, 1884, the Board gave a book for good attendance to George Winter, Kate Shillinglaw, Wm. Johnston, Elizabeth McNeil, Jas. Blackhall, May Hillard, John Blackhall, Ethel Bliss.

It is not quite clear what subjects were first taught in the Collegiate. A leaflet of the Board of Education, Manitoba (Protestant section) Examination of Teachers, August, 1882, gives the examination subjects as follows: Reading, spelling, writing, bookkeeping, arithmetic, history, geography, grammar, composition, euclid, algebra, mensuration, botany, natural philosophy, chemistry, physiology and literature. From this it may be deduced that these subjects were on the curriculum.

Mr. E. S. Popham guided the Brandon Collegiate till October 24, 1885, when to the great regret of the school board, he resigned to take up a position in Winnipeg. His average salary was slightly less than $1,200 per annum. He was succeeded temporarily by M. H. Davidson at $80 a month, but the new principal, a Mr. McLeod, was appointed December 24, 1885. A year later the principal was recommending the hiring of a sixth teacher, a Miss Johnston, and encouraging the Board to invite Professor Hart, from Manitoba College, to address them on how to raise the Collegiate department to a Collegiate Institute. In 1885 "a depression" is mentioned as a cause for keeping teachers' salaries low. This depression had evidently lifted by February 2, 1886, for Mr. Kerr, the Secretary-Treasurer, who had been appointed in February, 1885, at a salary of $50 per annum, had his salary raised to $125 per annum. Miss Johnston, a full-time employee, only received $325 per annum.

Mr. McLeod resigned the principalship on September 31, 1886. He was succeeded by Wm. Elliott, who held the position till July 17, 1888, when he, in turn, was succeeded by a Mr. Montgomery. In September, 1892, the erection of Central School, built to the plans submitted by architect

Shillinglaw, was opened. A Mr. G. D. Wilson was engaged on September 10, 1892, to act "as principal of the Brandon Public Schools." He taught classics and English, and seems to have been principal of the Collegiate. On September 24, 1892, the Brandon School Board requested its secretary-treasurer, Mr. J. C. Kerr[1] to inform the Department of Education that they desired to raise the status of the Collegiate Department to that of a Collegiate Institute. Their request was acceded to, and in the following year the Institute had a staff of five teachers and thirty-eight pupils. A comparison between the attendance at the Winnipeg and Brandon Collegiate Schools is not uninteresting:

	1891	1892	1893
Winnipeg	278	393	343
Brandon	63	70	147

School Finances

Owing to the loss of the earliest records it is difficult to reconstruct the financial background of the early school system.

On September 4, 1882, the City Council minutes refer to an account rendered it by the Brandon School Board (Protestant) for an amount required for school purposes.

On October 23, 1882, a delegation from the School Board consisting of Rev. Mr. Ferries and W. J. White, addressed the Council on the matter of city schools, and asked that body to include $15,000 worth of debentures for school purposes in a new issue the Council proposed to sell. While the latter, by By-law 19, raised $150,000 by debentures on December 11, 1882, there is no reference in it to the School Board requirements. The next reference to schools in official documents is that on January 23, 1883, referring to By-law 23, authorizing assessment for city schools. On February 24, 1883, we find the trustees meeting to consider a By-law to raise $15,000. They decided to pass it and hand over the raising of the money to the city council.

On April 3, 1883, Mr. Barr, the Secretary-Treasurer, was instructed to ask the city council for $3,800 which the Board had requested the city council to raise for school purposes.

The School Board must have received more money than its immediate needs demanded from these debentures, for on

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[1] Mr. Kerr resigned October 3, 1893, and was succeeded by Mr. Wm Walker.

April 3, 1883, a motion was passed loaning Miss M. Ferries (evidently a daughter of Rev. John Ferries, a trustee who resigned at the same meeting) $200 at ten per cent interest for three months "provided they had legal power."

On June 23, 1883, the School Board was again loaning money—this time $2,000, to the members of the Church of England in Brandon, for six months at ten per cent "if they had legal power to do so."

At this period the expenses of the Board, apart from its building operations, were not great. We have already given the salaries of the teachers. The two auditors were paid $5 per annum. The first school janitor, Mr. William McTudol, received $5 a week. The caretaker did no scrubbing. To perform this operation "a casual" was paid $3 a time. Rev. J. Boydell, school inspector, and his successor Rev. C. B. Dundas, received $150 per annum. The first Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Barr, received $250 per annum—certainly the finest salary for the work involved. The Board's incidental income was not great. The usual half-yearly legislative grant of $150 was asked for by the Board at their meeting in February, 1883. The English and Baptist church congregations were billed for their "use of the school rooms."

From the minutes of the City Council for January 7, 1884, we learn that:

(City) Taxes Collected for 1882 were	$8,622.50
(City) Taxes Collected for 1883 were	6,222.98
Total	$14,845.48
School Board Proportion	$ 3,966.33
Less amount paid to School Board	1,121.80
Leaving total amounts due	$ 2,844.53
On account for which was in hand	$ 350.00

Like the City Council, the School Board was living on the proceeds of debentures. A depression had yet to come and the staffs to suffer the consequences. That such a depression did come is evident from the School Board minutes for January 16, 1885. That body was considering re-engaging its staff but because of the economic situation it decided to do so at reduced salaries.
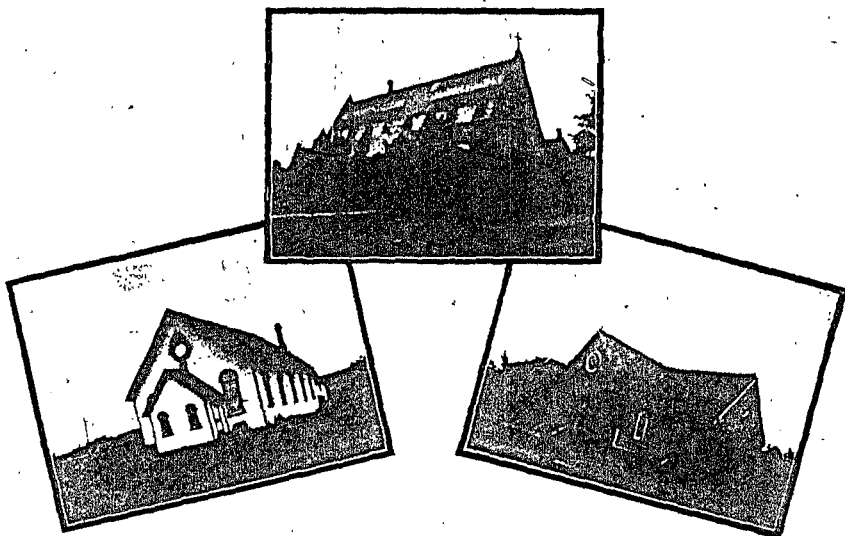
Baptist Church   St. Matthews Church   Congregational Church
Church of England
Now St. Hedwig's R.C. Church)
A trio of Brandon's first Churches.

Courtesy of Mrs. Beecham Trotter.

Methodist Church, Seventh Street. Brandon, 1889.
Original church was on west side of Sixth Street, between Rosser and Princess Avenues. Names reading from left to right: 1, Mrs. Adams; 2, Miss Vera Leech; 3, Mrs. Van Tassel; 4, "Two Ashley youngsters; 5, Beecham Trotter (author of "A Horseman and the West"); 6, Wilbert Trotter; 7, Mrs. B. Trotter; 8, Rev. Mr. Gaetz; 9, Mrs. Bodden; 10, Rev. Mr. Darrell; 11, J. Sproule; 12, E. Bennest; 13, D. A. Reesor, Jeweller; 14, Mr. Bodden; 15, T. Butcher. (This picture was taken just prior to opening of present First Church United at corner of Eighth Street and Lorne Avenue. Brandon.)
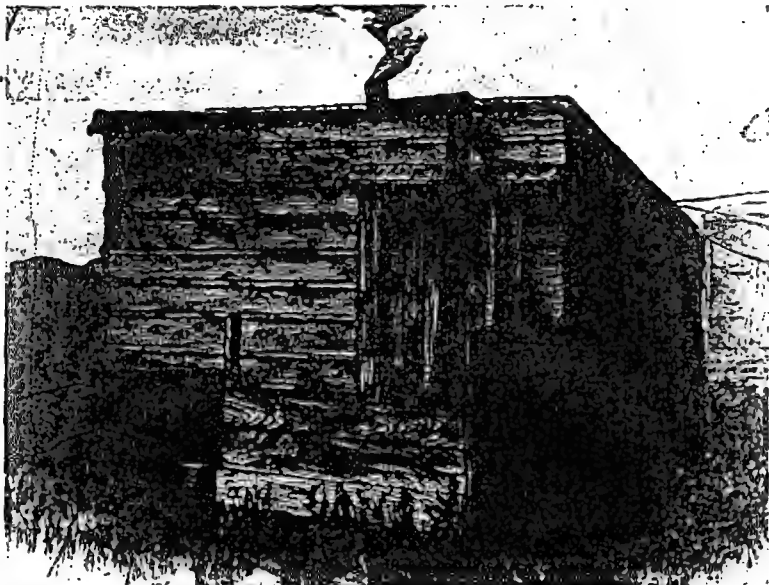
An early parsonage in Brandon village (denomination unknown).
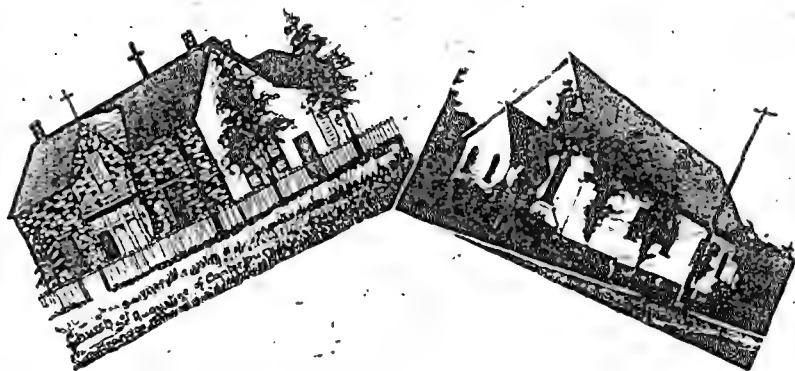
On the left the Church of St. Augustine of Canterbury, Brandon's first Catholic Church, dedicated September, 1881. On the right Brandon's pioneer Presbyterian Church, formerly located near the site of St. Paul's United Church. The building is now St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.

On Monday, June 2, 1885, the City Council, after a lengthy discussion, induced by the same considerations, sent the following resolution to the Protestant School Board:

"That the Council recommend the School Board to discontinue the Collegiate department of the school as in our opinion the city of Brandon cannot afford to educate teachers for the country districts unless we can derive some revenue therefrom." (Moved and seconded by Aldermen Robinson and Stewart and carried.)

When the City Council resolution arrived, the School Board passed a resolution that unless the City Council paid over $1,600 due the Board, to be used for current expenses, it would have to close the Protestant schools. The five teachers were notified that after July 30, their contracts would not be renewed.

The situation was reflected in D. McMillan's statement:

Taxes Collected for 1882	$ 3.55	
Taxes Collected for 1883	18.32	
Taxes Collected for 1884	.128.95	
Total	$150.82	
Over-paid Last Month ($200)		$ 81.33
Balance Placed to Credit of School Board		69.49
		$150.82

He would pay to credit of School Board on the eighth instant on account of School Board taxes collected this month $100.

Various steps were taken by the Board to restore financial equilibrium. Salaries of the teachers were reduced by ten per cent—$3,100 to $2,800. Canon O'Meara was summoned from Winnipeg to meet the Board and it was decided to circularize the Municipalities in Brandon County to aid the Collegiate by making grants. Any Municipality which did so would have their Collegiate students educated free.

The Board's appeal in August was not successful. We find it in October of that year, asking for legislation to compel outside Municipalities to contribute to the Collegiate upkeep and requesting increased financial aid from the Department. The Board minutes for the first time contain a list of Catholic taxpayers, a fact which serves to introduce the Catholic School Board.

Brandon Roman Catholic School Board

The only Roman Catholic separate school existing outside the city of Winnipeg in the Assiniboine basin, in a purely English speaking district, in 1882, was that of St. Joseph's parochial school, at the corner of Third Street and Lorne Avenue, Brandon. This school, which opened in September, 1882, had at first an enrolment of twenty-two pupils. The first chairman of the School Board was Reverend Joseph Robillard, pastor of St. Augustine's Church, at the southeast corner of Fourth Street and Lorne Avenue. The name of the first teacher is not available.

The school was opened under the authority of the Roman Catholic section of the Department of Education which then consisted of Bishop Tache, T. A. Bernier, Esq., Superintendent of Education, Reverend G. Dugart, Reverend A. A. Cherrier, E. W. Jarvis, Esq., A. Kittson, Esq., M.P.P., L. A. Prudhomme, Esq., and Reverend Charles Baudin.

The Brandon school census (all religions) for those years reveal that the Roman Catholic population was more or less stationary, whilst the Protestant population increased abundantly.

	Roman Catholic Children			Protestant Children		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1882	—	—	22	102	95	195
1883	19	15	34	165	142	307
1884	18	18	36	230	202	432
1885	24	25	49	227	174	401
1886	22	27	49	226	193	419

Financial support for the separate schools was on a threefold basis: (a) departmental grants; (b) local taxation; (c) voluntary contributions. Departmental grants were at the rate of one dollar per pupil per annum, with special grants for special purposes. As far as can be ascertained those grants were as follows: 1883, $24; 1884, regular and special grants of $207; 1885, $144; 1886, $148.

Local taxation levied on Roman Catholic taxpayers was the second source of revenue. In 1884 the amount raised was $400; 1885, $394. In subsequent years the amount varied depending on the teacher's salary, which was at the same rate as that at the public school, ranging from $325 to $500.

In 1890, on the passing of the Manitoba School Act, St.
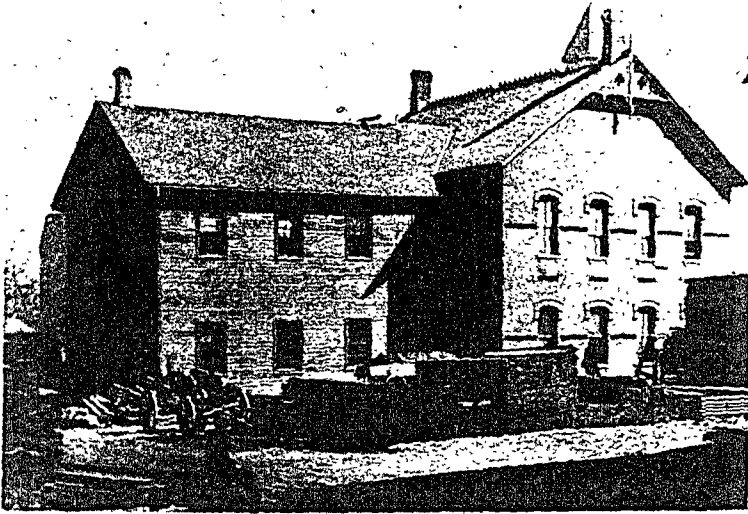
Brandon's first School—erected during fall of 1881. Only the rear portion was built and used at first, the front portion being erected in spring of 1883.
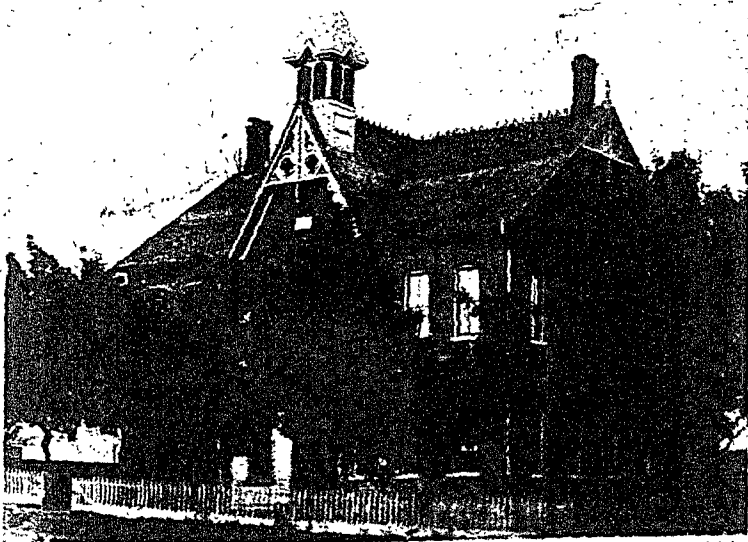
Brandon's first Collegiate facing towards Tenth Street. It was erected between April and June, 1883.

Thomas Jasper Lamont and Mary Weightman, afterwards Mrs. Lamont, Brandon's first and second school teachers.

Dr. Alexander Fleming, first chairman of Brandon's first School Board, 1881.

Class of 1889 at Brandon Collegiate Department.
Sitting, left to right: Dr. J. A. Hall, formerly Medical Missionary, Dr. E. W. Montgomery (Teacher and formerly Minister of Health, Manitoba), Mr. W. McKellar, Mr. R. A. Clement, LL.B. Standing, left to right: Dr. J. S. Matheson, surgeon, Judge S. E. Clement, former County Court Judge.

Joseph's Roman Catholic separate school ceased to receive grants from provincial and municipal sources, and its up-keep has since been obtained from voluntary sources. Far-ther west in the river basin the dual system of educational control was introduced and operated successfully. Both systems had democratic features.

PRIVATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

St. Joseph's Academy

St. Joseph's Academy, an institution in charge of The Faithful Companions of Jesus and Mary, was opened at the corner of Third Street and Lorne Avenue, prior to September, 1883. The first principal was Mother Augusta. When Bishop Tache visited the Academy in 1883, there were thirty-seven pupils. In 1890 the numbers had risen to eighty-three pupils with nine teachers. In 1891, when the institution closed, there were ninety pupils. Five years afterwards St. Joseph's Academy reopened as St. Michael's Academy, with the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions in charge. In 1909 the old site was abandoned for a new location on Victoria Avenue and First Street.

Brandon College

Dr. S. J. McKee established a private Academy in Brandon in 1890. From 1910-1938 the institution was affiliated with McMaster University, and granted degrees in Arts from that institution. In 1928 the demand for higher education so increased that Grades IX and X were discontinued, the former in 1928, the latter in 1930. In 1932, Grade XI was abolished.

In 1938, Brandon College became affiliated with Manitoba University. The history of Brandon College is a story of struggle for higher education in a pioneer area. Its success is due to men of vision and financial genius such as Dr. A. E. McKenzie, Brandon's pioneer seedman, and to a long list of learned and energetic presidents, not the least great being Dr. John R. C. Evans, who has held the presidency from 1928 to 1946.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE POST OFFICE

MAIL DELIVERY in the West in the days of the fur trader was at best a haphazard affair. Letters were sent from the East to Grand Portage on Lake Superior and handed to some kindly fur factor to carry to a fur trader at some distant point. Thus delivery was by canoe, by dog team or later by Red River Cart.

When the "added territory" became a part of Manitoba the Dominion Government developed a system of pony express delivery to mail stations. This is excellently described by Judge Clement in his reminiscences. The main route, in 1879, was from Winnipeg to North Battleford.

As the plains became dotted with farm houses, the postal authorities at Winnipeg or Ottawa appointed some settler, who was centrally located, to receive the mail. Farmers and others then called for their letters. McVicar's was thus selected for the Grand Valley area. When the Brandon Hills Settlement was founded, an office was set up at Roddick's. To the latter place mail was sent from Grand Valley for distribution. In June, 1881, Peter Mitchel, one of Brandon's first citizens, used to drive to the "Hills" for Brandon village mail and on his return empty the sack on the floor of Smart's hardware store for each one to help himself. Mr. Beresford Groome, of Little Souris, Manitoba, on one occasion visited Grand Valley only to find that Little Souris mail was already sent to Roddick's Post Office.

As the postal needs of Grand Valley increased, the authorities at Ottawa appointed J. C. Kavanagh postmaster. He arrived on May 24, 1881. When that village declined, Ottawa transferred Mr. Kavanagh to Brandon. The date of his appointment was August 1, 1881. Some time before this, the new appointee had looked over the situation in the new town, and about July 18, 1881, had appointed L. M. Fortier temporary postmaster. The Fortier tent was the first post office. It was situated on the west side of Ninth Street beween Rosser and Pacific Avenues. It was on the site of the McKenzie Com-

pany building. The post office counter was a table placed at the entrance to the tent. The letter box was a wooden soap box with a useful slit.

There is a tradition that L. M. Fortier moved this temporary office for a very short period—possibly only a few days —to the site of the Clement Block.

On August 1, 1881, J. C. Kavanagh moved from Grand Valley. (It might be mentioned here that Henderson's Directory published in Winnipeg February 4, 1882, mentions a D. McReir as postmaster at Grand Valley but there is no further information about this man. Possibly he succeeded Kavanagh at the latter place.)

Brandon's first official post office site was on the south side of Rosser Avenue between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets. It was on the southeast of the block, the west part of which was occupied by the "Thomas Whitehead and Andrew Whitelaw General Store." The citizens were not particularly pleased with the post office location so far from Sixth Street, the then principal thoroughfare. On August 14, 1882, the city council by a formal motion, which was carried five for and four against, requested the Postmaster General to have the inconveniently located office moved to a more central place.

During 1881, L. W. Mulholland of Rosser Avenue, Brandon, is listed as a mail contractor. He was the city's first. In October, 1881, Dr. David McNutt, V.S., contracted to drive a mail coach from Rapid City to Brandon. He was aided by his two sons. This mail coach was afterwards driven by Albert Edward Hardaker, a pioneer of Winnipeg, 1878, and Rapid City, 1879. With the arrival of the C.P.R. in Brandon, September, 1881, the arrival of the mail was a daily occurrence. Gradually the new city became the postal headquarters for the West.

The post office moved, in 1883, to the Masonic Block at the southwest corner of Tenth Street and Rosser Avenue. The site is at present occupied by the Olympia Cafe. The ground floor of the Masonic building was M shaped. The east side was the A. C. Fraser store, the west side became the post office.

In 1889-1890, the Dominion Government decided to build a new office on the south side of Rosser Avenue west of the lane between Tenth and Eleventh Streets. This building, which cost $40,000, was occupied as a post office till April 13, 1931, when it was vacated in favour of the Customs and Excise branch of the Dominion Government. A new post office had just been erected on the north side of Princess Avenue between Tenth and Eleventh Streets.

The importance of a locality as a collecting and distributing centre can be gauged by a study of its post office statistics.

In 1882, the number of mails dispatched from Brandon in a week was seventeen. The number dispatched in one week, in 1945, is easily seen from the figures given below.

JUNE 3-9, 1945

	Mail dispatched by trains or buses, etc.	No. of locked bags contained in case	No. of locked bags received in Brandon
Monday	16	30	34
Tuesday	15	33	55
Wednesday	15	36	34
Thursday	14	30	48
Friday	16	40	47
Saturday	15	33	39
Sunday	6	9	20
Total in a week	97	181	277

The revenue for 1944 was $172,197.16, an improvement on 1882, which had $7,114. Postage stamps, in 1882, brought in $901—a tiny figure compared with 3,203,050 stamps valued at approximately $130,000 in 1944.

In 1882, the postmaster considered he was doing well when he sent out 24,564 insured parcels—now the figure is 134,578. The registered letters of yore were 6,204—now they are 20,343. Incoming registered letters amounted, in 1882, to 4,961, in 1944 they were 59,592.

Automatic stamping machines and other inventions of a mechanical age have aided in the handling of more mail—nevertheless five officials, in 1882, compare with 37 in 1945.

Letters passing through the stamping machines in one week in June, 1945, were as follows: Monday 4th—10,060; Tuesday 5th—14,140; Wednesday 6th—7,990; Thursday 7th —8,330; Friday 8th—6,990; Saturday 9th—5,860. The high-

est single day's record was December 19, 1944, when 57,675 letters were stamped.

The destinies of Brandon's postal service have been controlled by the following postmasters: J. C. Kavanagh, August 1, 1881-December 24, 1900; Kenneth Campbell, January 1, 1901-May 1912; T. M. Percival, May 1, 1912-July 1, 1924; W. J. Munn, February 2, 1925-June 28, 1936; Robert K. Forbes, July 1, 1936, still in charge.

In peace and in war Brandon's Post Office shows the economic trend.
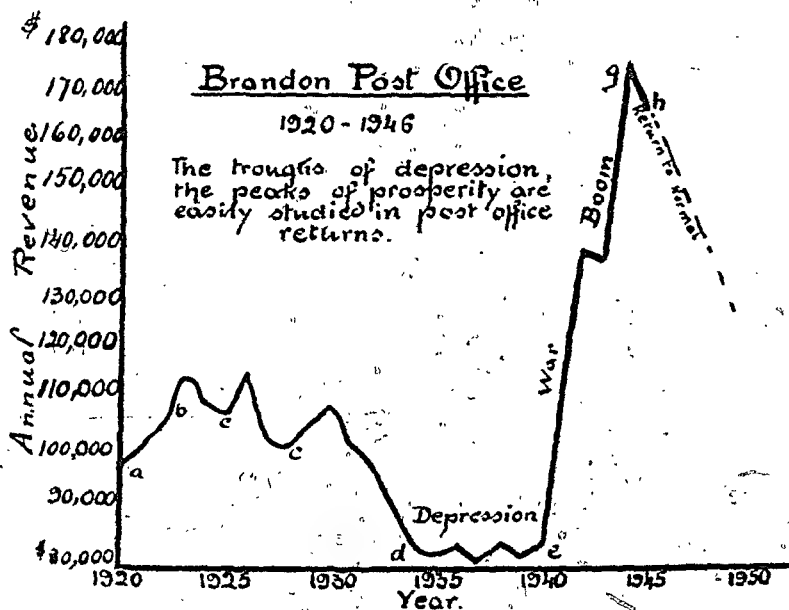
CHART XX

Revenue returns for Brandon Post Office for the year ending March 31 each year.

    (a)   Depression after World War I.
    (b)   Recovery 1923.
    (cc) Depression 1925 and 1928.
    (de) Base of depression 1935-1940.
    (eg) War boom.
    (h)   Return to normal.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FIRE BRIGADE

EVERY TOWN or city demands a fire prevention service, hence Brandon, as early as July 27, 1882, had passed a by-law dealing with the prevention of fires. The City Directory for 1883 states that "before the close of the year 1882 the additions and improvements of the City included the finished Club House and a corporation building which embraced a Fire Hall fitted with a fountain-hose and steamer and hook and ladder appliances, suites of offices for the City Clerk, the Chief of Police and the assessors and collectors of taxes and a Council Chamber." The new offices (see picture facing page 223) including the fire hall, were on the site of the present Fire Hall on Princess Avenue between Seventh Street and the lane. The building on the west of the picture contained the large fire hall, which accommodated the engine. It had a suite of offices upstairs. The room on the west was the office of the City Treasurer Daniel N. McMillan. The other front office was occupied by the City Clerk, John C. Kerr. Both these upstairs offices opened into the Council Chamber where Mayor T. M. Daly and his twelve aldermen directed the city affairs. Off the Council Chamber were the rooms of the police court. The rooms underneath the Council Chamber were occupied by the Chief of Police and the constables. Under the Police Court were the prisoner cells. Just east of the Fire Hall was the hose tower at the back of which A. R. "Dad" Crawford had a small dwelling house. Next was the hose reel house and horse stable. This was a frame building. The stairs led to rooms where the man in charge of the horses used to live and where the volunteer firemen met in early days. East of this building was the Registrar of Lands office. Next came the lane. This row of civic offices was used as stated till 1892 when the civic offices were moved to their present site between Eighth and Ninth Streets.

The officers of the first fire brigade were purely voluntary. J. J. Parker was chief fire inspector. (Some think that A. L. McMillan held this office in addition to that of police chief.)

G. W. Alexander was the first fire chief engineer. The other officers were E. G. Wiswell, assistant chief engineer; R. J. Salisbury, secretary; John West, foreman of hose company; A. M. Herron, assistant foreman; J. A. Russell, treasurer, hose company; R. J. Salisbury, secretary, hose company; D. W. Beaubier, assistant secretary.

Brandon city, since its foundation, has had only three fire engines. Number one was a chemical soda and acid engine drawn by one horse—the lucky horse was the one nearest at hand attached to a dray. The first engine was sometimes referred to as a "Steam Fire Engine." Engine number one was replaced by unit number two—a larger model in 1889. It was drawn by two horses. The first engineer was A. R. (Dad) Crawford. He was paid $1,000 per annum and the proceeds from the city scales which were installed in 1883 in front of the fire station. Engine number two was in charge of Crawford till he became engineer in chief at the pumping station on the river bank in 1892. With the introduction of the larger fire unit, David Anderson was hired June 1, 1889, to care for the two horses which drew the new outfit. Crawford and Anderson were the only paid fire officials till 1892 when the former was replaced by C. Callendar. Two interesting features distinguish this period. David Anderson used to water the streets with his two horses and if a fire alarm woke the echoes he had to race for his fire engine. Fire water tanks were located at strategic points throughout the city. These tanks were eighteen feet deep and eighteen feet in circumference. One was located at the corner of Seventh and Princess Avenue, another at the corner of Tenth and Rosser. There were several others.

The city did not have a modern water works till 1892 hence the necessity for water tanks. The second engine was in service till 1935 when a modern fire engine with booster pumps and an elevated water tank was installed to increase the efficiency of the service.

The volunteer fire chiefs included G. W. Alexander 1882-1883. In the latter year he was replaced by E. G. Wiswell who held the post till about 1891 when he was substituted for by John Richards (1894-1897), and Thomas Hudson (1897-

1899). In the latter year Mr. Wiswell became once more voluntary fire chief till 1909.

End of Volunteer Regime

Previous to 1909 the volunteer force had ceased to be purely voluntary. The casual brigade members were each paid $25 a year. From May 1, 1909, till April 1, 1931, John Melhuish ruled as the first of the salaried fire chiefs. He was succeeded by Alexander Mowat who was in charge from April 1, 1931, till June 1, 1943, when Mr. George Bain became the chief.

Brandon's first fire hall lasted from 1882 till 1911 when it was replaced by the present structure. The older building was enabled to last out its long tenure because the civic offices had been removed to their present site in 1892. The opening of the modern city hall was celebrated on January 1, 1892, by the first Fireman's Ball. Each year since, this festive celebration has taken place.
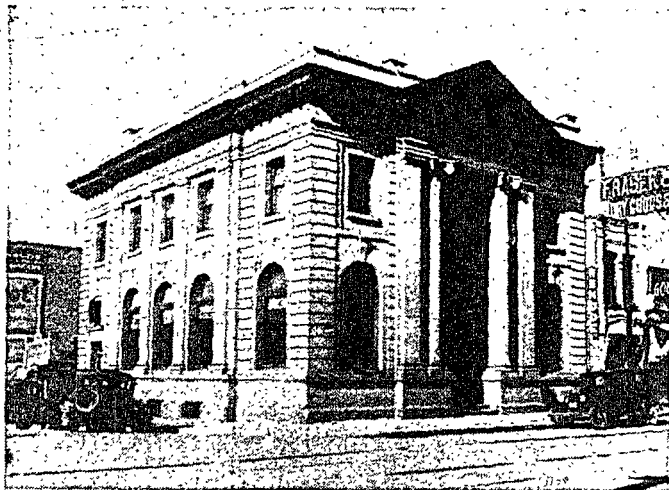
Brandon Public Library. Promoted by Manitoba Teachers'
Society as a civic project in 1943.
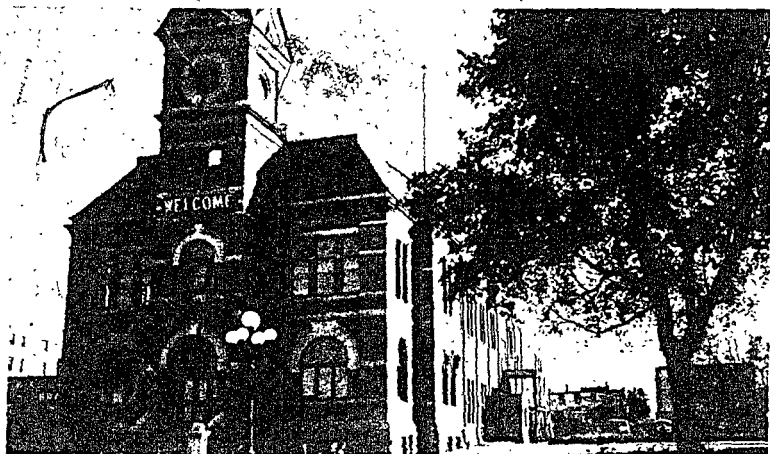
City Hall, Brandon, Manitoba.
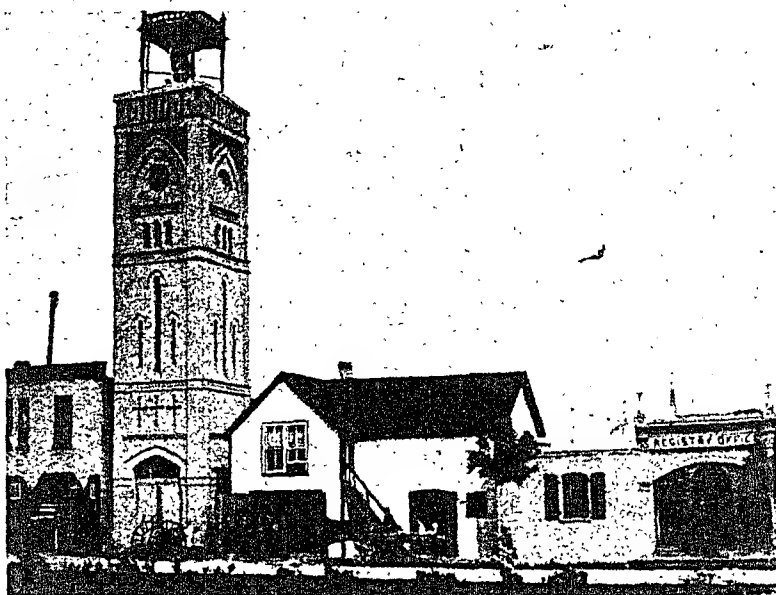
Brandon's first Civic Offices. See Plan.

Seventh Street

Downstairs was the fire engine room	Dan M Mc Millan Treasurer's Office upstairs on west. Stairs From Ground Floor — John C Kerr's Office City Clerk upstairs on east.	Council Chamber for city—upstairs, west side. Underneath was Police Station and Chief of Police Office on west side	Police Court on east side upstairs Underneath was the prisoner cell

S — N — E (compass)

Princess Avenue

Hose Tower	A R Crawford's house at rear

Door to Hose House	Hose Reel House and Horse Stable	Upstairs Volunteer brigade met and hostlers slept
Door to Horse Stables.	This is frame building with stairs	

Land Titles Registrar's Office   Martin MacDonald

Lane

Plan of Brandon's first Fire Hall, 1882-1911, and Civic Offices, 1882-1892. (Present City Hall built 1892. Present Fire Hall built 1911.)

CHAPTER XXXV

BRANDON GENERAL HOSPITAL

THE BRANDON GENERAL HOSPITAL was first incorporated in 1883 with a Provisional Board of Directors consisting of Joseph E. Woodworth, M.P.P, president; James A. Johnston, treasurer, and D. M. McMillan, secretary.

The Provisional Board of Management included Richmond Spencer, M.D.; John McDiarmid, M.D.; T. M. Moore, M.D.; Rev. John Ferries; Hon. J. W. Sifton; Wm. Winter; L. M. Fortier; Jas. A. Johnston; Alex. Fleming, M.D.; F. W. Shaw, M.D.; Rev. J. Boydell; Rev. Thos. Lawson; J. E. Woodworth, M.P.P.; T. Mayne Daly, Jr.; Fred Granville; D. M. McMillan, mayor of City of Brandon, warden of the County of Brandon. The building was to be erected in the spring of 1883 on the Woodworth estate at an estimated cost of $5,000. Anyone who paid $30 was entitled to a life membership. Patients were to be admitted solely on the recommendation of the medical board, except in cases of urgency. No insane person was to be admitted, but a special exception was made for those suffering from delirium tremens.

The first General Hospital buildings designed by Architect Marshall were not erected till 1891 but the need was so great that in 1886 a certain Mrs. Walker, whose home was on the south side of Louise Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Streets, opened her home as a Cottage Hospital. Her first inmate was Dr. J. R. Fisher, V.S., who was a patient of Dr. Fleming. Fisher spent six weeks in the hospital suffering from typhoid—sometimes called Red River fever. The first General Hospital buildings were opened April, 1892, on the present site on Russell Street and McTavish Avenue. The institution was governed by sixteen members elected annually from the Life Governors and two appointed from municipalities making a grant of $2,000 or over. Three years after the main building was erected a laundry was built and the year 1897 saw an isolation building erected

behind the main building. It was a two-storey structure. The mortgage was removed in 1941.

The hospital was so busy in 1902 that an announcement was made that invalids would not be admitted unless they had first ascertained if admission could be obtained. The need of space was so imperative that in 1904 it was decided to remodel the old building and erect a maternity building. The architect was Mr. W. H. Shillinglaw. In 1913 plans were made to further extend the hospital, but owing to the Great War the corner stone of the new surgical building was not laid till 1921. This new building erected north of the original building consisted of two major, two minor operating rooms, x-ray laboratories, out-patient departments, administration offices, kitchens, staff dining rooms, a general surgical floor, a semi-private ward floor and a private ward floor. Organizations came to the aid of the institution and in 1922 solaria were erected on the children's and the maternity floors. Further renovations were made to the old building. In 1927 it was further enlarged.

In order to erect the new surgical buildings, the City of Brandon contributed $75,000 and the rural municipalities gave $15,000. In the early days grants were made by sixteen neighbouring municipalities. At the time of the incorporation Brandon General Hospital cared for many patients from the North West Territories. For this service no remuneration was received from the government. In these circumstances the board in 1902 advised the governments concerned that no patient from such territories would be admitted into the hospital and that the government must bear the responsibility of any hardships concerned because the hospital was crowded to the doors with patients from its own territory.

Nurses

In 1893 it was found necessary to have a suitable nurses' home. This building was enlarged and refurnished in 1902, at a cost of $2,200. It served then as a home for twenty-three nurses. In 1912 a nurses' residence was built, but as the hospital increased in size it was found necessary, in 1928, to enlarge the residence. Lecture rooms, lounges, receation rooms, etc., were added. The first graduating class of nurses

was in 1894. It consisted of one student. Since that time nearly 700 nurses have graduated from the institution. Many remarkable women have been superintendents of Brandon General Hospital, among them were Miss McVicar (1892-1896), Elizabeth Monteith (later Mrs. W. H. Shilling-law) (1896-1898), Ellen Birtles (1898-1902), Eudora Hunter (1902-1903), Ellen Birtles (1903-1912), Miss E. Hunter (1912-1914), Miss E. Birtles (1914-1919), Miss Johnston (Mrs. Robert Darrach) (1919-1923), Miss Christina Macleod (1923-1945), and Miss Eva McNally (Jan. 1, 1946). Dr. G. W. J. Fiddes (1946) became medical superintendent on the same date.

Much help too has been given by voluntary organizations such as the Women's Hospital Aid Society, the Girls' Auxiliary, the Graduate Nurses' Association, the Knights of Columbus and many other public bodies and private individuals.

Presidents of the Hospital Board

Some of Brandon's finest citizens have acted as presidents of the hospital board. Among these in earlier years were Hon. J. W. Sifton (1891-1893), C. A. Moore (1894-1895), Robert Hall (1896-1897), S. A. Bedford (Experimental Farm manager) (1897-1898), Judge T. D. Cumberland (1899-1900), Dr. John Dickson (1901-1902), Charles White-head (1904-1912), Robert Darrach (1912-1935). In later years the presidents were Colonel Whillier, Mr. Oscar Harwood, Mr. Whitby Kerr, K.C., Judge Clement and Mr. Ed. Fotheringham.

Thus this splendid institution continues under the guidance of a capable staff to provide solace and comfort to suffering humanity.

CHAPTER XXXVI

PARKS

Riding Mountain National, Stanley, Rideau, Assiniboine, Curran and Coronation Parks

PARKS fall into two classes—City and National. Of the former, Brandon has four, and of the latter in the Assiniboine basin —one, viz., Riding Mountain.

Riding Mountain National park is situated about sixty miles north of Brandon city. Established in 1929, its area is 1,148.4 square miles. On the summit of the Manitoba escarpment its rolling woodland and crystal lakes attract many visitors. Its big game include elk, deer and moose. At Clear Lake, recreations such as boating, fishing, tennis, golf and camping delight not only Brandon people but the dwellers in the hinterland.

Stanley Park

Of the five parks situated within the city limits of Brandon, Stanley Park, named in 1907 after a popular dentist and legislator, Dr. Stanley McInnis, is probably the most frequented. It is not marked on Macoun's plan 1881, but the Canadian Pacific Railway set the whole block aside as a suitable place for a park. The grounds were originally laid out by City Engineer W. H. Shillinglaw, to whom the citizens owe much for the design of their parks. There is an estimate of $3,588 for public parks in the city's budget for 1907. Whilst some of this money went towards sidewalks and boulevards, much of it went towards Stanley Park.

Rideau Park

Rideau Park, situated in the eastern part of the city, between Park and Franklin Streets and between Lorne and Louise Avenues, was originally a part of the Joseph Woodworth estate. Woodworth was born at Rideau, England, where he secured his Master Mariner's certificate. He later emigrated to Canning, N.S. He was a resident of Brandon

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for five years. Whilst Joe was an enthusiastic citizen during that period his interest was transient and mainly due to investments from which he expected a quick return. He died in a boating accident in the Mexican Gulf.

Rideau Park extends over two city blocks. In this respect it differs from Stanley Park which covers but one. Both parks have the usual amenities such as shrubs, flower beds, children's playgrounds and lawn bowling greens. The former contains about six acres, the latter three.

Senator Kirchhoffer, whose residence was built on the block immediately north of this park was at one time interested in purchasing the park site. Alderman Coldwell forestalled him. On March 16, 1908, a city council minute informs us that "Mr. Coldwell gave notice of motion re the purchase of Rideau Park." The grounds were laid out by W. H. Shillinglaw.

Assiniboine Park

At the northwest corner of First Street bridge there is a very pretty wooded area which rejoices in the name Assiniboine Park. Regarded as somewhat inaccessible, it is not greatly frequented. It was laid out by W. H. Shillinglaw in 1909. Running through it are traces of the original road along which vehicles used to wend their way to Brandon ferry in 1881.

Curran Park

A council minute for August, 1912, informs us that Reverend Ferrier, principal of the Indian Residential school, requested "that a map be made of that portion of the lands belonging to the school and the experimental farm which are to be turned over to the city." This section of land abutting on the river was for a long time unused by its owner. During the economic depression, between 1931 and 1935, the city council gave its unemployed young men work clearing part of the land. The area was named Curran Park after a prominent alderman, who had done good service on the parks' board and given his name to a city apartment block.

The Summer Fair Grounds and Coronation Park

The Summer Fair Grounds, whose grand stand was erected in 1912-1913, are a recreational centre, but are hardly a park in the accepted sense. A block of land in the west end of the city between Princess and Lorne Avenues and Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets was set aside as *Coronation Park* to mark the crowning of George VI and Queen Elizabeth, May 12, 1937. It has not yet reached the stage where its shrubs and plants distinguish it from the surrounding prairie. A cairn, suitably inscribed, marks its dedication. As the city extends westward it will form a worthy counterpart for Rideau in the east.

The Brandon Normal School Grounds

The grounds of the Brandon Normal School, which were for a long time under the supervision of a distinguished botanist and horticulturalist in the person of J. B. Hales, one-time principal of Brandon Normal School, show what can be effected by planned tree and shrub planting. To Mr. Hales also, as chairman of the parks' board for many years, goes much of the credit for the beauty of Brandon's boulevards and city streets.

CHAPTER XXXVII

NEWSPAPERS

ON THURSDAY, January 19, 1882, a breeze was blowing from the west down Brandon's main thoroughfare, Rosser Avenue. The wind helped William J. White to distribute the first copies of "The Brandon Sun," a weekly paper which had just come off the press. The copies thus scattered from the printing office close to the southwest corner of Twelfth Street and Rosser Avenue proclaimed that the next edition would be published one week later.

Considering that Mr. White lived over his printing press, and was at that time very limited as to finances, he was by no means modest in his first advertisement. He announced that his paper would contain all "matter interesting to every settler and would-be-settler." All news relating to climate, homesteading laws, schools, games, stock raising, etc., would be at the service of each citizen for $2 per annum in advance.

"Will. J.'s" venture was so successful that new machinery was necessary to cope with newspaper and printing demands. The Department of Agriculture had the following notices among its list of Joint Stock Companies:

"The Brandon Sun Printing and Publishing Company, May 8, 1883— For purchasing the Brandon Sun Newspaper and carrying on a general printing and publishing business. Chief place of business at the City of Brandon. Capital stock $75,000 in 750 shares of $100. First directors John William Sifton, George Luther Center, Daniel McMillan, Arcus Martine Peterson, John Christie, and Clifford Sifton."

The same authority furnishes us with a clue to the financial standing of Brandon citizens in 1883, and the method of organizing a joint stock company to further a community cause.

"The Sun Printing and Publishing Company, Department of Agriculture, 1883.

Shareholders	Address	Business	Stock Subscribed	Amount Unpaid
Angus, Geo. B.	Paris, Ont.	Contractor	$1,000	$150
Beaton, Geo. B.	Brandon	Journalist	2,000	300
Brock, John W.	Brandon	Photographer	500	none
Burns, Thos.	Brandon	Gentleman	1,000	none
Center, George L.	Brandon	Contractor	1,000	150
Christie, John A.	Brandon	Lumber Merchant	1,000	none
Fraser, A. C.	Brandon	Merchant	1,000	50
Harrison, Thos.	Souris	Farmer	500	75
Hector, R. W.	Brandon	Miller	1,000	none
Henderson, F. G. A.	Brandon	Barrister	500	none
Johnston, Jas. A.	Brandon	Farmer	1,000	50
McBurnie, J. D.	Brandon	Gentleman	1,000	none
McMillan, D. M.	Brandon	Gentleman	1,000	none
Peterson, A. M.	Brandon	Barrister	1,000	none
Sifton, Clifford	Brandon	Barrister	1,000	none
Sifton, John W.	Brandon	Gentleman	2,000	none
Smart, Jas A.	Brandon	Merchant	1,000	none
White, W. J.	Brandon	Journalist	8,000	none
Winter, Wm.	Brandon	Gentleman	1,000	none

In this manner was launched the Sun Printing Company, with W. J. White as business manager. His Weekly Sun was advertised in 1884 as circulating "largely throughout Manitoba."

"The Daily Sun" was published "every lawful evening" from Wednesday, July 12, 1882. In its infancy, the "Sun" newspaper tended to liberalism in politics largely on account of the Sifton influence, but through the years its political influence has shifted according to the policy of the owner— now independent, now liberal, now conservative. Among its proprietors have been W. J. White, J. A. Osborne, Joseph Blyth Whitehead, E. Whitehead. Among its editors have been Messrs. W. J. White, Mr. Murphy, Philip Purcell, William Noakes (1921-   ).

Since "The Nor-Wester" (Manitoba's first newspaper) appeared "at the beginning of the New Year" of 1859, many prairie journals have been founded. Among the more important published in Brandon were "The Brandon Mail," "The Brandon Blade," "The Brandon Times," "The Independent," "The Independence," "The Western Sun," "The Optimist"—the latter typical of the advertising media of the late thirties.

The Mail

The Mail Printing and Publishing House, situated in 1883 at the corner of Fourth Street and Rosser Avenue, issued "The Daily Mail" and "The Weekly Mail." Both papers contained "the latest news of the Town and Province, despatches giving the latest doings of the world." The weekly edition contained sixty-five columns, the daily forty-eight.

The Brandon Mail, Volume I, Number I, first appeared on December 19, 1882. An advertisement in the City Directory, 1883, gives the first proprietors as Douglas and Ham. The editor and proprietor on March 12, 1885, was C. Cliffe. On May 6, 1897, we find him penning a valedictory bidding farewell to his readers, and stating that he has handed over his paper and lists of subscribers to other city newspapers. A lengthy article in the edition of Thursday, December 26, 1895, entitled "The Early Days of Brandon," contains the following reference to Brandon's early history:

"In decades past, the advantages of our locality were not overlooked, as the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Trading Company had posts here, and their relics still remain *on the corner of Fourth Street and Rosser Avenue"*

We have been unable to find any historical reference to these relics in the locality mentioned.

The Brandon Blade first appeared October 4, 1883. Its proprietors and editors were Messrs. Taylor and Collinge, who kept it circulating till March 27, 1884, when it ceased to publish. The Blade was a weekly.

"The Brandon Times" whose proprietor and publisher when it first appeared on June 10, 1886, was E. L. Christie, who was a severe critic of the Liberal party and especially Mr. Clifford Sifton. Mr. Clarence King was the manager on December 31, 1913, when the last edition appeared. The Brandon Times was a weekly appearing every Thursday.

"The Independent" was a weekly whose first edition appeared November 27, 1897. The editor, William G. King, advocated "practical politics and pure government."

"The Independence" of which Volume I, Number I, appeared April 27, 1899, seems to have been the former "Independent" with the title slightly changed. The new

name first came into use April 27, 1899. "The Independence" which had eight pages, appeared every week. Oliver King was proprietor with W. G. King, editor. It ceased to be published April 23, 1903.

Among the weekly newspapers issued from Brandon in early days was "The Western Sun" which commenced about January 25, 1882, and continued till April, 1903. "The Western Sun" was printed by the Western Publishing Company, Limited. G. D. Wilson was the editor on January 4, 1900, when Volume XIX, Number 49, was issued. On April 30, 1903, "The Western Sun" was amalgamated with "The Brandon Weekly Sun." The first number of the combined papers, Volume XXII, Number 48, of the latter, appeared May 7, 1903, and the final number in 1942.

The Brandon public has seen many newspapers hopefully commence publication. The natural law of the "survival of the fittest" seems to have held here as in other spheres of life. With the coming of the radio, the invention of teletype, and such concomitants of modern progress, it is not unlikely that in the lapse of time the small daily and weekly will be replaced by larger productions less native to the soil.[1]

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[1] Notes made from Manitoba Provincial Library files of newspapers and checked with "American Newspapers, 1821-1936, a union list of files available in U.S. and Canada," by Winnifred Gregory, N.Y., H. W. Wilson Co., 1937.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

IN THE EARLY DAYS of Manitoba the province showed its
interest in agriculture by encouraging agricultural societies
which in turn fostered exhibitions, or fairs, at which the
products of its members and others might be shown. In
1871, the Provincial Society had its headquarters in Winni-
peg. It received $2,000 per annum from the Provincial
Government and this with the help of donations from private
individuals and firms helped to provide good prizes. The
rural interest was fostered by the establishment in each
provincial electoral division of a local agricultural society.

In August, 1882, Brandon's County Division had an Agri-
cultural Society with a membership of 140. The officers of
this evidently progressive group were as follows: President,
Charles Whitehead, Brandon; first vice-president, Thomas
Harrison, Souris City; second vice-president, Francis Clegg,
Grand Valley; secretary, R. T. Evans, Grand Valley;
treasurer, Thomas Lockhart, Brandon; auditors, William
Drew, Brandon, and R. B. Hetherington, Elton. The direc-
tors were Major Rogers, Millford; John McCort, Brandon;
Charles Pilling, Brandon; John Parkes, Griswold; W. F.
Burley, Plum Creek.

The Society held its first exhibition in the city October 11,
1882. There were 150 entries and the committee received
$52 from admissions, $100 from a provincial grant and $150
from membership fees. Its total receipts were $302. Animal
prizes amounted to $68.50. Garden, field and dairy produce
were allotted $40.50. Ladies' work and fine arts prizes were
$15. The total prize money was $124. Incidental expenses
were $74.25. The total expenditure on Brandon's first fair
was $198.75.

Besides the County Agricultural Exhibition, an annual
Provincial Exhibition was also developed for the whole
province. In 1883, we find Portage la Prairie, Brandon and
Winnipeg anxious to secure the affair for their city. It was

mainly a matter of which city would make the largest donation.

The Brandon County Council agreed to grant $1,000 for buildings and $1,000 towards the prize list. Charles Whitehead reported to the provincial body that William Winter, Brandon's second mayor, would on behalf of the city council promise "say $3,000—$1,000 to be spent on buildings and $2,000 to be given in prizes. Portage la Prairie by the casting vote of the chairman of the Provincial Council of Agriculture, secured the fair.

Baulked in their design, the city and county did not surrender but rather increased their interest in fairs, and Brandon Electoral Division established a second club.

Agricultural Society No. I, with headquarters in Brandon city, had in 1883 the following executive: President, Charles Whitehead; first vice-president, A. L. Sifton; second vice-president, Francis Clegg, Chater; secretary-treasurer, R. T. Evans, Brandon; auditors, George Roddick, Brandon Hills, and William Johnston, Brandon. Brandon No. II Society was at Carberry. Its president was V. E. Casselman.

The report of the No. I Society for that year was a happy one. It thanked the city council for a contribution which helped to purchase the present exhibition grounds for $2,500. A "palace" also had been built; $1,500 still remained to be obtained to complete the purchase of the Way farm lands. The total number of entries in the second exhibition was 735 as compared with 150 in 1882. The board was sorry that there were only thirty entries for cattle. It expressed itself in favour of buying a Percheron stallion, some thoroughbred stock, and of its members indulging in mixed farming. The optimism of the board was evident in its statement that its property was worth $7,500. This society fostered agriculture locally till 1892.

The suitability of Brandon as a venue for a provincial exhibition was partly recognized in 1892. In that year its agricultural association was incorporated by the Manitoba Legislature under the name "Western Agricultural and Arts Association of Manitoba," a title which it held till 1920, when the title "The Provincial Exhibition of Manitoba" was adopted.

The Western Agricultural and Arts Association of Manitoba soon found that money was very necessary to aid its cause. A company whose original capital was $10,000 was formed. This was divided into 1,000 shares of $10 each. This amount was increased on November 10, 1927, to $20,000 or 2,000 shares at $10 each. No dividends were to be paid and no directors were to be recompensed. The directorate consisted of not more than fifty and not less than ten directors. Any municipality granting $400 had the rights of a director.

In 1920 the Association was declared an Agricultural Society under the meaning of the Agricultural Societies Act. This allowed Brandon to receive grants from the Dominion and Provincial Governments.

The Brandon Exhibition throughout the years, since 1892, has needed money. It secured financial aid by issuing several sets of debentures. In 1909, debentures to the value of $40,000 were issued. In 1912 there was a further issue of $15,000, and in 1913, $50,000. These debentures were consolidated in a loan of $100,000 in 1929. It was guaranteed by the city. The new bonds which were dated August 1, 1929, and bore interest at 5 per cent, mature in 1949.

Manitoba Winter Fair

As the agricultural life of Manitoba developed, the farmers found the need for a place to exhibit their winter products. This want was supplied about the turn of the century by "The Live Stock Association of Manitoba" which held a winter or spring exhibition in various towns throughout the province, rotating each year from one town to another. Whilst this method sufficed for a time, many felt that a permanent location with permanent buildings should be established.

The year 1900 saw J. D. McGregor, a prominent western farmer, visiting the first Chicago International Exhibition. He returned with the determination to establish a winter fair in Brandon. A factor that convinced McGregor that his idea was sound was that Guelph, Ontario, had held such a successful undertaking for several years.

In the beginning Brandon's Winter Fair was held on the Market Square, east of the Fire Hall. It might be noted that Brandon's first market square was outlined in Macoun's plan (1881) as being the block between Princess and Lorne Avenues and Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets. It was moved later to the lots east of the Fire Hall on Princess Avenue. As every exhibit could not be shown in the open, the warehouses of Smith, Inglis, and Nelson on Ninth Street, and likewise the buildings of J. H. Hughes on Tenth Street were often made available for parts of the display.

The method of holding a fair without permanent buildings was unsatisfactory. It resulted in Mr. J. D. McGregor and Mr. Joseph Donaldson approaching the "Live Stock Association of Manitoba" with the proposition that Brandon stockmen would build a permanent home for the fair if the association would hold an annual exhibition in the city. The association agreed to do so. A part of the new arrangement was that the secretary-manager of the summer fair, Mr. Fraser, should hold a similar position for the winter fair.

The year 1906 saw a charter secured for the *Brandon Winter Fair and Live Stock Association.* The original directors were: President, J. D. McGregor; vice-president, William Warner; treasurer, John Inglis; secretary, O. L. Harwood. Other directors were G. R. Coldwell, J. W. Fleming, Robert Hall, Joseph Donaldson, Fred Nation and Joseph Connell.

The first steps taken by the board were to secure finances. This was done during the fall of 1906-1907. A site 230 feet by 120 feet at the northwest corner of Tenth Street and McTavish Avenue was purchased. The first building was commenced in May, 1907, and everything was in readiness for the spring fair held the first week of March, 1908.

The first directors knew that if their building was designed solely for exhibitions they would have difficulty in paying the debentures, accordingly the plans were so drawn that an entertainment hall with stage and scenery was part of the structure. Operas and concerts might help the finances. The building was opened with an operatic production "The Chimes of Normandy." Later on William Jennings Bryan, American politician and orator, gave his lecture "The Prince of Peace."

The first exhibition quarters were soon found to be inadequate. The city council came to the aid of the directors by erecting a building suitable as a market place and at the same time suitable for exhibitions. This building can still be seen on Tenth Street. In 1910 Brandon Mental Hospital was burned down. To relieve the hospital, the provincial government took over the fair buildings for two years. This caused the exhibition to be held in the summer fair buildings.

In 1911 the board of directors decided that additional space was required. They therefore requested the city council to guarantee bonds of which the fair board would dispose. The city granted the request to the extent of $105,000, and in 1912 the Arena building, facing on Victoria Avenue, was erected.

The years between 1912 and 1915 were difficult for the Winter Fair Board. Large rents from the provincial government and later from the Dominion government, which had taken over the buildings to house war prisoners and army personnel helped somewhat, but it was not sufficient to meet liabilities. In 1915, Mr. T. C. Norris, a gentleman, who was familiar with western farm problems and one who realized the good work done by the winter fair, became premier of Manitoba. Within two years he caused the provincial government to pay the fair board's debts. The bonds which were unsold were pledged to the banks for current expenses.

The original winter fair buildings on Tenth Street were burned in December, 1920. The north section was, however, saved. Once more the Manitoba government came to the rescue. It took over the remaining buildings and guaranteed a bond issue of $200,000. This money helped to clear previous bonded indebtedness and to erect the stables at the rear of the arena. From this date the exhibition has flourished.

In 1912, J. D. McGregor introduced the "Boys' Calf Competition." The idea was adopted not only in Brandon but in U.S.A. and in Europe. In 1926 "The Boys' and Girls' Calf Feeding Competition" became an extension of the 1912 idea. Two years later, Miss Emma Hamilton received $3 a pound for the winning animal.

In 1922, horse and cattle barns and poultry exhibition rooms were added to the arena. Ten years later, at the suggestion of Lord Bessborough, governor general, a school children's special afternoon of attractions was introduced. The year 1938 saw 200 horse stalls built, because in that year an all-time high was attained in the number of horses shown.

The Brandon Winter Fair encourages every phase of agriculture. What it has done in the past is but a token of what it hopes to do in the future.

Courtesy of Patmore family.

Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Patmore. Early
pioneers. Mr. Patmore, a noted
nursery man and horticulturist, gave
his name to "Patmore's Grove."

Courtesy of Mrs. M. McGregor.

Hon. James Duncan McGregor,
Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba,
1929-1936. A pioneer in farming,
livestock raising, and Agricultural
Society activities.

Courtesy of Mr. H. B. Bedford.

Dr. S. A. Bedford who is commem-
orated in "Bedford Drive."

Courtesy of Miss Lottie Currie.

William Currie founded "Currie's
Landing."

Brandon Hospital for   North Hill.   Grand   Johnston
Mental Diseases   Valley.   Farm.

Snye River   First Street   Assiniboine River.   Iron   The Ford.
Bed.   Bridge.   C.P.R. Yards.   Bridge.

(Courtesy of R.C.A.F.)

AERIAL PHOTO OF BRANDON AND DISTRICT SHOWING ASSINIBOINE RIVER
(Compare with Charts XV and XIX.)

APPENDIX I

REPORT OF NORTHWEST POPULATION

Page 282 Henry's Journal, July 3, 1805

Departments	Whites			Indians		
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
Athabasca	208	48	84	Not Given		
Athabasca River	37	12	15	55	38	66
English River	78	40	63	211	380	1,100
Rat River	25	7	10	70	90	150
Fort des Prairie	136	59	103	4,823	13,632	45,906
Fort Dauphin	45	22	18	19	17	31
Upper Red River	56	52	82	1,170	1,200	2,500
Lower Red River	75	40	60	160	190	250
Lake Winnipic	88	11	15	90	111	194
Lac La Pluie	46	10	10	103	141	195
Fond du Lac	128	29	50	449	784	1,944
Nepigon	90	20	20	238	283	299
Kaministiquia Mille Lacs and Lac des Chiens	62	16	35	70	84	178
Le Pic	16	2	3	44	45	58
	1,090	368	569	7,502	16,995	52,871
A.M.K. Co. Men & Co.	520	37	31			
	1,610	405	600	7,502	16,995	52,871[1]

Fort des Prairies is all Saskatchewan River region
Upper Red River means the Assiniboine basin.
A.M.K. Co. stands for Alexander MacKenzie & Co.
Men & Co.=XY Co. and their men, women and children.

There were no white women in the region in 1805, hence this chart gives a good idea of how many whites had married Indian women.

Appendix II

Typical Roster of Red River Brigade
June 1, 1808
(New Light on Coues)

A Long Boat—Angus McDonald, Charles Larocque, Pierre Martin, Jean Baptiste Lambert,—282 bags of pemmican, 1 bag of potatoes, 42 kegs of grease, 2 kegs of gum, 224 pieces, 2 pairs of cartwheels, 1 leather tent, 1 oilcloth tent, 1 cow, bark and wattap (etoupe).

L. L. Canoe—Charles Bottineau, Gerbais, Assiniboines—22 kegs of grease, 1 bag of potatoes, 10 bags of ___, Bas de la Rivière, 33 pieces, 1 buffalo.

(Pieces are not specified.)
(There were sometimes ten or more boats in a brigade.)

Appendix III

Population by Racial Origin and Sex for the
City of Brandon, 1941

Racial Origin	Total	Male	Female
Total	17,383	8,656	8,727
British Isles Races	12,610	6,205	6,405
English	6,620	3,269	3,351
Irish	2,452	1,161	1,291
Scottish	3,303	1,648	1,655
Other	235	127	108
Other European Races	4,496	2,293	2,203
Asiatic Races	71	57	14
Other and not stated	206	101	105

POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION AND SEX
for the
City of Brandon, 1941

Religious Denomination	Total	Male	Female
Total	17,383	8,656	8,727
Adventist	4	1	3
Anglican	4,087	2,073	2,014
Baptist	552	256	296
Brethren and United Brethren	45	19	26
Confucian and Buddhist	16	15	1
Christian	8	4	4
Church of Christ, Disciples	5	2	3
Christian Science	90	35	55
Evangelical Association	10	6	4
Greek Orthodox	471	244	227
International Bible Students	9	4	5
Jewish	141	72	69
Lutheran	350	175	175
Mennonite	34	17	17
Mormon	2	1	1
Pentecostal	174	84	90
Presbyterian	2,629	1,308	1,321
Protestant	38	23	15
Roman Catholic	3,132	1,640	1,492
Salvation Army	254	151	103
United Church of Canada	4,961	2,315	2,646
Other and not stated	371	211	160

APPENDIX V

POPULATION FOR AGE GROUPS, AND SEX
for the
City of Brandon, 1941

Age Group	Total	Male	Female
Total	17,383	8,656	8,727
Under 21 Years	5,267	2,616	2,651
0-4	968	531	437
5-9	1,019	540	479
10-14	1,299	664	635
15-19	1,586	709	877
20-	395	172	223
21 Years and Over	1,364	546	818
25-29	1,549	747	802
30-34	1,277	615	662
35-39	1,163	562	601
40-44	1,047	516	531
45-49	1,097	565	532
50-54	1,203	649	554
55-59	1,057	596	461
60-64	850	468	382
65-69	612	304	308
70 and Over	897	472	425

Appendix VI

POPULATION BY RACIAL ORIGIN AND AGE GROUPS
For Division 7

(Division 7 includes Municipalities of Cornwallis, Cypress North, Cypress South, Elton, Norfolk North and South, Oakland, Victoria, the City of Brandon, the Town of Carberry and the Village of Wawanesa.)

Racial Origin	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-34	35-44	45-70
Division No. 7	36,669	2,465	2,529	2,977	3,503	9,202	4,475	11,518
British Isles								
Races _____	28,126	1,876	1,859	2,210	2,594	7,010	3,381	9,196
English _____	13,251	893	882	1,011	1,199	3,409	1,569	4,288
Irish _____	6,486	459	438	501	602	1,585	773	2,328
Scottish _____	7,954	486	505	655	768	1,931	975	2,634
Other _____	435	38	34	43	25	85	64	146
French _____	1,509	159	135	121	153	388	185	368
German _____	794	65	55	58	59	236	99	222
Italian _____	32	1	3	—	3	8	3	14
Netherlands _____	502	36	48	50	45	141	58	118
Polish _____	1,566	87	107	170	216	391	187	408
Russian _____	208	12	12	18	24	58	24	60
Scandinavian _____	953	62	63	75	84	235	146	288
Asiatic Races _____	100	3	6	9	6	9	18	49
Others and not stated _____	1,120	65	89	87	83	259	187	350

APPENDIX VII

POPULATION TREND

Year	Population
1871	None
1881	500
1882	1,500
1891	3,778
1901	5,620
1900	
1906	10,408
1911	13,839
1916	15,215
1921	15,397
1926	16,443
1931	17,082
1936	16,461
1941	17,383
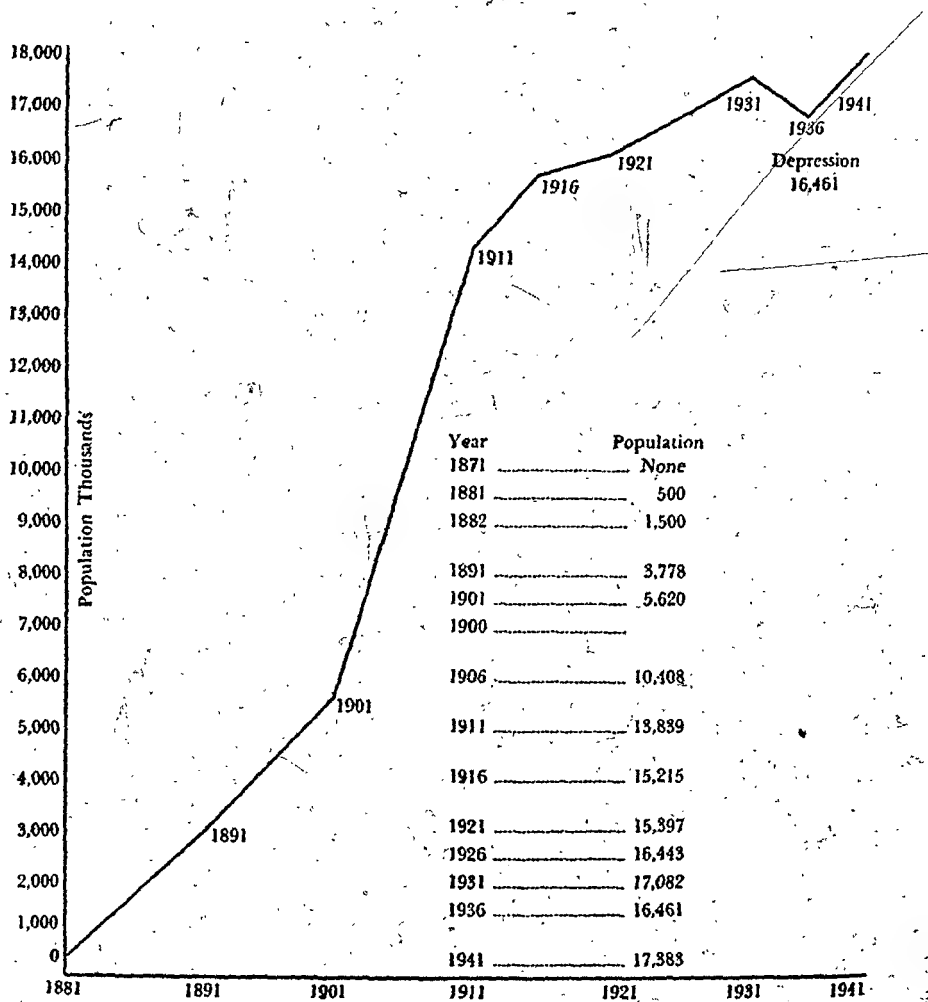
CHART XXII

Appendix VIII

MAYORS SINCE INCORPORATION

1882-	Hon. T. Mayne Daly	Lawyer
1883-	W. Winter	Agent
1884-	Hon. T. Mayne Daly	Lawyer
1885-86	James A. Smart	Hardware Merchant
1887-	Charles Adams	Harness Maker
1888-89	Alex. C. Fraser	Merchant
1890-91	Andrew Kelly	Miller
1892-94	Dr. John McDiarmid	Medical Doctor
1895-96	Jas. A. Smart	Hardware Merchant
1897-98	Ezekiel Evans	Private Banker
1899-00	Dr. John McDiarmid	Medical Doctor
1901-02	Alex. C. Fraser	Merchant
1903-04	Robert Hall	Realtor
1905-06	John W. Fleming	Druggist
1907-08	Stephen E. Clement	Lawyer
1909-10	Henry L. Adolph	Lawyer
1911-13	J. W. Fleming	Druggist
1914-	J. H. Hughes	Lumberman
1915-18	H. Cater	Pump Manufacturer
1919-	A. R. McDiarmid	Lumber Merchant
1920-21	George Dinsdale	Cartage
1922-31	H. Cater	Pump Manufacturer
1932-33	Ed. Fotheringham	Creamery Proprietor
1934-37	H. Cater	Pump Manufacturer
1938-41	F. H. Young	Painter - Decorator
1941-45	L. H. McDorman	Creamery Manager
1946-	Frank Williamson	Pump Manufacturer

APPENDIX IX

CHAIRMEN OF SCHOOL BOARD

1881-	Dr. Alex. Fleming
1882-1883	Wm. Winter
1884-	Thos. Lockhart
1885-	Sheriff S. Clement
1886-	John A. Christie
1887-	John Russell
1888-1889	Sheriff S. Clement
1890-1899	John A. Christie
1900-	Robert Darrach
1901-1903	Wm. M. Alexander
1904-1905	Robt. M. Matheson
1906-1907	John A. McDonald
1908-1909	A. D. Rankin
1910-	Hy Sampson
1911-	David Shirriff
1912-1913	John S. Maxwell
1914-1915	Jos. Cornell
1916-	Dr. John S. Matheson
1917-1918	David M. Creighton
1919-1920	Dr. A. T. Condell
1921-1923	Geo. A. Fitton
1924-	Dr. John S. Matheson
1925-	W. N. Sutherland
1926-1927	Robt. J. Bullard
1928-1929	John Popkin
1930-1931	Dr. John S. Matheson
1932-1946	Geo. A. Fitton

APPENDIX X

NAMES WITH DATES OF ELECTION AND THE PARTY OF BRANDON MEMBERS IN MANITOBA LEGISLATURE SINCE 1881

(The boundaries of the electoral division have changed
in the course of time.)

Brandon County—Oct. 26, 1881—J. W. Sifton, L.-J. Norquay, C.—1878-1887
Bdn. Coun., Jan. 16, 1883—J. E. Woodworth. C.-J. Norquay, C.—1878-1887
West Brandon—Dec. 9, 1886—D. N. Harrison, C.-J. Norquay, C.—1878-1887
D. N. Harrison, C.—1887-1888
Brandon City—July 11, 1888—J. A. Smart, C.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
Bdn. Elec.—July 23, 1892—W. A. McDonald, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
Bd. By-elec.—Aug. 23, 1894—Chas. Adams, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
Bd. Gen. elec.—Jan. 15, 1896—Chas. Adams, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
N. Bdn. elec.—Jan. 15, 1896—A. L. Sifton, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
S. Bdn. elec.—Jan. 5, 1896—H. C. Graham, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
By-elec. N. Bdn.—Dec. 19, 1896—A. C. Fraser, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
—— (Election due to A. L. Sifton entering Dom. Govt.)
N. Bdn. el.—Dec. 7, 1899—T. E. Greenwood, L.-T. Greenway, L.—1888-1900
Brandon City—Dec. 7, 1899—S. W. McInnes, C.-R. P. Roblin, C.—1900-1915
Bdn. G. elec.—July 20, 1903—S. W. McInnes, C.-R. P. Roblin, C.—1900-1915
Bdn. G. elec.—Mar. 7, 1907—S. W. McInnes, C.-R. P. Roblin, C.—1900-1915
Bdn. G. elec.—July 11, 1910—A. E. Carroll, C.-R. P. Roblin, C.—1900-1915
Bdn. G. elec.—July 10, 1914—R. G. Coldwell, C.-R. P. Roblin, C.—1900-1915
Bdn. G. elec.—Aug. 6, 1915—S. E. Clement, L.-T. C. Norris, L.—1915-1922
Bdn. G. elec.—June 29, 1920—A. E. Smith, Lab.-T. C. Norris, L.—1915-1922
Bdn. Gen elec.—July 18, 1922—J. H. Edmison, I.-J. Bracken, P.—1922-
Bdn. Gen. elec.—June 28, 1927—J. H. Edmison, I.-J. Bracken, P.—1922-
Bdn. Gen. elec.—June 15, 1932—G. Dinsdale, C.-J. Bracken, P.—1922-
Bdn. Gen. elec.—July 27, 1936—G. Dinsdale, C.-J. Bracken, P.—1922-
Bdn. Gen. elec.—April 22, 1941—G. Dinsdale, C.-J. Bracken, P.—1922-
Bdn. By-elec.—Nov. 18, 1943—D. L. Johnston, C.C.F.-S. Garson, Co.—
Bdn. G. elec.— 1945—L. H. McDorman, Co.-S. Garson, Co.—1946.

C.—Conservative; L.—Liberal; P.—Progressive; I.—Independent; C.C.F.—
Canadian Commonwealth Federation; Co.—Coalition. Lab.—Labour.

APPENDIX XI

REPRESENTATIVES IN DOMINION HOUSE OF COMMONS

The electoral district of Brandon was not set up till 1892. Previous to that date Brandon County and City were part of the Electoral District of Selkirk (1881) which became smaller in 1887 and eventually, as the population increased, was replaced in 1892.

		Majority	Party in Power
1882	Hugh Sutherland	423	Conservative
1887	Thomas Mayne Daly—Conservative	179	Conservative
1891	Thomas Mayne Daly		
	(Minister of Interior 1892-1896)	435	Conservative
1896	D. A. McCarthy—Conservative	335	Conservative
1896	Clifford Sifton at by-election——Acclamation		Liberal
	(Minister of Interior)		
1900	Clifford Sifton—Liberal	669	Liberal
1904	Clifford Sifton—Liberal	1,821	Liberal
1908	Clifford Sifton—Liberal	69	Liberal
1911	J. A. M. Aikens—Conservative	866	Conservative
1917	H. P. Whidden—Union	10,134	Unionist (1917-1920)
			Nat. Liberal & Cons.
			(July, 1920-Dec. 1921)
1921	Robert Forke—Progressive	5,529	Liberal (1921-1926)
1924	Robert Forke—Progressive	983	Liberal
1926	Robert Forke—Progressive	1,166	Liberal
1926	By-election Hon. Robert Forke (Prog.)	Accl.	(Liberal)
1930	T. A. Crerar (By-election) (Liberal)	Accl.	(Liberal)
1930	D. W. Beaubier—General Elec. (Cons.)	2,055	Conservative
1935	D. W. Beaubier—Conservative	207	Liberal
1938	J. E. Matthews—Liberal	890	Liberal
1940	J. E. Matthews—Liberal	2,740	Liberal
1945	J. E. Matthews—Liberal	1,137	Liberal

APPENDIX XII

CITY CLERKS

Edmund Martindale_____July 10, 1882-March 2, 1885
Daniel McMillan (acting)_____March 2, 1885-March 16, 1885
John Kerr_____March 31, 1885-May 1, 1893
Joseph F Whitehead—Secretary-Treasurer____March 31, 1893-July 21, 1905
George F. Sykes—Secretary-Treasurer____August 7, 1905-December 26, 1906
Harry Brown—City Clerk_____January 2, 1907-October 4, 1921
George Sykes—City Clerk_____October 17, 1921-December 31, 1940
Gavin Hall—City Clerk_____January 1, 1941

CITY TREASURER (CITY CHAMBERLAIN)

Thomas Winter—July 10, 1882-December 31, 1883—Chamberlain.

D. McMillan—Jan. 21, 1884-May 5, 1893—Chamberlain, Assessor, Collector.

D. McMillan—May 5, 1893-December 28, 1894—Acting Secretary-Treasurer.

J. B. Whitehead—January 21, 1895-July 21, 1905—Secretary-Treasurer.

Geo. F. Sykes—August 7, 1905-January 2, 1907—Secretary-Treasurer.

Geo. F. Sykes—January 2, 1907-October 4, 1921—Treasurer only and Tax Collector.

Geo. F. Sykes—October 4, 1921-December 31, 1940—Secretary-Treasurer.

A. J. M. Bell—January 1, 1941—City Treasurer and Tax Collector.

APPENDIX XIII

DOMINION EXPERIMENTAL FARM

1. Dominion Experimental Farm, Brandon, was founded in 1888. First full year of operation, 1889.

   Present Acreage:
   (a) Experimental Farm, Brandon (1)—842.
   (b) Reclamation, Station, Melita (1)—1120.
   (c) *Substations*: (2)
   　　Boissevain, Crystal City, Goodlands, Hargrave, Lyleton, Pipestone.
   (d) *Illustration Stations*: (2)
   　　Arborg, Dugald, Eriksdale, Gilbert Plains, Gunton, Katrime, Kenville, Swan River, Silverton.

   　　　　NOTE: (1) Operated by Brandon staff.
   　　　　　　　　(2) Operated by farmers under direction of the Experimental Farm staff.

2. *Superintendents*:

   S. A. Bedford—1888-1906.
   N. Wolverton—1906-1907.
   James Murray—1907-1911.
   Wm. C. McKillican—1911-1924.
   M. J. Tinline—1924-1946.
   R. M. Hopper—April 1946-

3. *Technical Assistants*:

   1889-1912—None.
   1912-1921—1.
   1921-1924—2.
   1924-1935—4.
   1935-1945—7.

BRANDON HOSPITAL FOR MENTAL DISEASES

The Brandon Hospital for Mental Diseases was established in July, 1891. The building was burned down on November 4, 1910. The new building was occupied December 2, 1912.

The following were superintendents during the times shown:
Dr. Gordon Bell—August 1, 1891-April 7, 1894.
Dr. M. S. Fraser—April 8, 1894-December 3, 1894.
Dr. N. B. Gillies—December 4, 1894-Sept 30, 1900.
Dr. J. J. McFadden—October 1, 1900-August 31, 1903.
Dr. J. J. Anderson—September 1, 1903-November 17, 1909.
Dr. J. J. McFadden—November 18, 1909-April 30, 1916.
Dr. H. E. Hicks—May 1, 1916-August 31, 1918.
Dr. J. B. Chambers—September 1, 1918-December 31, 1919.
    (Acting)
Dr. C. A. Barager—January 1, 1920-August 31, 1930.
Dr. T. A. Pincock—November 15, 1930-July 31, 1942.
Dr. Stuart Schultz—August 1, 1942-

Present value of plant, $3,461,639.79.

The number of employees varies from time to time but the following was establishment in July, 1945:

Doctors—8.
General and Mental graduates (female)—43.
Pupil nurses—66.
Nurse-attendants—7.
Male attendants—96.
General staff (female)—50.
General staff (male)—46.

TELEPHONE SYSTEM

The telephone, as a means of communication, was first established in Brandon in 1882. It was then owned and operated by the Bell Telephone Company of Canada. In 1908 the private company was replaced by the Manitoba Telephone Company, a Government institution. Steady progress has taken place in the service and number of users since 1882. The fifty-one subscribers, then all located in the city, have risen to 3,088 locals and 434 rural telephones, in 1944.

The Superintendents of Telephone service in Brandon since its beginning have been as follows:

Mr. F. C. Patterson—1882-1906.
Mr. C. H. Snider—1906-1915.
Mr. H. Coddington—1915-1917.
Mr. H. M. Patterson—1918-1919.
Mr. C. H. Snider—1919-1935.
Mr. H. M. Kerr—1935-January 30, 1946.
Mr. C. E. R. Collins—February 1, 1946.

WEATHER DATA

Brandon, Manitoba, Latitude 49° 59'. North Longitude 99° 57' West.

Month	Average Rainfall in Inches	Average Temperature Over 25 Year Period		Sunshine Average Daily
		Highest	Lowest	
January	.92	43	—51	3.0
February	.57	47	—47	4.4
March	1.71	78	—40	4.9
April	1.31	87	—13	6.5
May	2.02	97	9	7.2
June	2.83	102	25	7.5
July	2.70	104	32	8.1
August	2.41	102	26	8.0
September	2.08	100	15	6.1
October	1.04	85	—11	4.5
November	.92	65	—28	3.3
Decmeber	.79	51	—45	2.7
Annual	19.30"	104	—51	5.5

APPENDIX XVII

PADDLED TO PELLY

Trip of Pioneer Steamer
The Assiniboine Navigated Almost to its Source
(Manitoba Free Press, Monday, July 18, 1881)

An article in the Manitoba Free Press of Monday, July 18, 1881, entitled "Paddled to Pelly" gives an interesting description of the Assiniboine River as a transportation medium.

"The steamer Marquette, of the Northwest Navigation line, arrived in port on Saturday evening having succeeded in reaching Fort Pelly on the Assiniboine during her recent trip. Two years ago, contrary to general anticipations, this pioneer boat was the first steamer to reach Fort Ellice, the farthest point to which the river had previously been ascended being Rapid City. Landing just below the Grand Rapids, Fort Ellice then became looked on as the head of navigation, principally, probably, from the fact that a bridge across the river at that point prevented boats from passing further up. Last winter, through the exertions of Mr. Drew, M.P., the Dominion Government passed an order in council for the bridge to come down, but the spring floods saved any work at the job by sweeping the structure away. Mr. McArthur decided to attempt the passage of the river as far as Pelly on the recent trip of the Marquette, the venture being perfectly successful, as will be seen by the following log and accompanying notes furnished by the purser, Mr. H. R. Jones:

"July 2—Left Ellice at 3 p.m. with a small quantity of freight for Fort Pelly. Water very strong the first four hours run, afterwards decreased in strength. Stopped at 7 p.m. and took on about three cords of poplar. River very crooked, but wide, with plenty of water. Left at 9 p.m. and tied up at 10 p.m. and took on two cords of poplar and left.

July 3—Ran from 4 a.m. till 10 a.m., cut two cords of wood, and left at 11 a.m. and ran till 9 p.m. and then tied up.

"July 4—Cut three cords of poplar and left at 5.30 a.m., passed mouth of Shell River at 6.30, stopped from 7 to 7.30 and from 10 to 11 a.m. and took two cords of poplar and ran till 12 noon, when the boilers were cleaned, and five cords of dead wood taken on, on four feet of water.

"July 5—Left at 4 a.m., stopped at 10 a.m. and cut six cords of poplar, leaving again at 1 o'clock p.m. Passed an Indian wigwam at 7.30 p.m. and took on the Indian Chief Coté's son, and at 8 p.m. tied up at the Indian reserve, 20 miles by land from Fort Pelly. Mr. Johnson, Indian farm instructor, was met by the Captain, and clerk, two miles from the landing, as the Indian had misinformed them that the fort was only two miles from the landing.

"July 6—Left at 3.30 a.m., stopped at 6 and took on 6 cords of poplar, and left again at 9 a.m., the river being very crooked and the water high, in many places forming lakes, three and four miles square. Advantage was frequently taken of this by leaving the river bed and steering across these lakes to the river again, thus cutting off many of the bends, and shortening the distance sometimes as much as four or five miles. At 4 p.m. after crossing

a lake, we unfortunately stuck on the river bank trying to get into the river, and did not get off till 9 o'clock, and until we had put off our freight and the heavy movables on deck. We were some 800 yards from shore and there being no trees, a dead man had to be planted on the shore, and the boat backed with the nigger stern foremost into the lake, there being only a foot of water on the river bank. We lay all night and took on a little dead driftwood.

"July 7—Took on more deadwood and proceeded at 5 a.m. to where the freight lay, took it on and steamed up stream, but made poor time owing to a strong wind and the river being so very crooked. From the Indian Reserve to Fort Pelly, it must be quite four times as far by river as by land. The bends being so sharp it was necessary in nearly every case either to use the line or set the boat's head off the bank with poles. From Ellice to the Indian Reserve, the timber, consisting principally of poplar, is very plentiful and sound. It lines the banks on either side with scarcely any interruption and runs back on an average about a mile. The country back from the river is good rolling prairie, with patches of timber, but from the Reserve to Fort Pelly the country in the vicinity of the river is lower, broken land, with a good deal of brush. The banks are low and marshy, with willow bush and very little timber. The land, however, back from the river a short way, is excellent and it cannot be long before it is settled up now that it is ascertained that the river is navigable for a boat the size of the Marquette, and that settlers and their effects can be conveyed there without difficulty. The timber beyond Fort Pelly consists principally of tamarac of considerable size, and a steam sawmill is about to be erected not far from the Fort which will also do considerable towards attracting settlers to that part. There is quite a large settlement near the mouth of Shell River and several wealthy settlers who speak very highly of the soil, and indeed the country there presents a most attractive appearance for agricultural purposes. Some of the settlers are stock raising on a very considerable scale.

"The wind blew so hard at 11 o'clock that we made fast near a clump of dead poplar and took them on for firing. At 7 p.m. the engineer reported that the bolts of the clamps had sprung out. The boat was therefore made fast for the night.

"July 8—Left at 3 a.m. and made very little progress, owing to high winds and the very sharp bends in the river. At 10 o'clock we made fast near a clump of trees and took on ten cords of poplar. A mile from the river several wigwams could be seen and the captain and clerk walked back to one of them, and ascertained that the land there was about to be set aside for an Indian Reserve. Several Indians were working the ground and they stated that Fort Pelly was ten miles distant by land, and thirty-five miles by water. Three Indians were then engaged to work on the boat to Pelly and back to their camp, as the roosters we had were nearly played out, having had to work a good deal in the water when making the bends. With sounding poles of fifteen feet it was seldom that the bottom could be felt in the middle of the river, and within three feet of the bank, the depth averaged five feet. The river from the Coté Indian Reserve to Pelly is seventy-five feet wide and quite navigable for a boat of 100 feet long. Major Griesbeck, of the Mounted Police, with Mr. Johnston, Indian Farm

Instructor, came on board at 5 p.m. and remained with us to Pelly. At 6 p.m. the wind having abated somewhat, we started again and ran till 10 p.m. when we tied up for the night.

"July 9—Left at 3 a.m. and at 9.30 stopped for new bolts to the clamps, the old ones of which had broken. The opportunity was taken of getting on two cords of dead wood which lay upon the bank. Left again at 10.30 a.m. We sighted Pelly at 4 a.m., and though apparently only four miles distant in a straight line, it must have been fifteen miles by water, the river being more crooked than was experienced during any other part of the trip. Arrived at Fort Pelly at 3 p.m., discharged our freight, which Mr. McBeth had conveyed in carts to the Fort a distance of three-quarters of a mile from the steamboat landing. Mr. McBeth stated that at one time the river was nearly dry at Fort Pelly, but during the last three years the quantity of water and size of the river had so greatly increased as to render, according to his opinion, navigation to Pelly for a small steamboat an easy matter for at least three months in the year.

"July 10—Left Fort Pelly at 6 a.m., stopped one hour and a half for four cords of dead wood at 10 a.m. and at two stopped again and cut eight cords of poplar. Left at 5.30 p.m. and ran all night.

"July 11—Stopped at 8.30 a.m. at the Coté Reserve and took on 4½ cords of poplar which the Indians had cut for the boat. Left at 9 a.m., stopped again from 3.30 to 6.30 p.m. and cut five cords poplar at the Marquette's wood yard; tied up for three hours.

"July 12—Stopped between 6 and 8 a.m. to repair wheel. Passed mouth of Shell River at 10.30 and 2.30 p.m. took on Messrs. Crombie and Fisher and reached Ellice at about 4 a.m.

"July 13—Took on a small quantity of freight and several passengers, leaving Fort Ellice at 1 p.m., arriving at Oak Mission, which is still considerably under water, at 7 p.m. the next evening. Arrived at Brandon at daybreak on the 15th. Left there at 9 a.m. and arrived at Portage at 2.30 a.m. on the 16th. At Poplar Point delayed to take on 45 cords of wood, starting from there at 1 p.m. and arriving at Winnipeg at 7.30 p.m. on the 16th."

X

APPENDIX XVIII

STATEMENT SHOWING VALUE OF EXPORTS OF CANADIAN
PRODUCE THROUGH THE PORT OF BRANDON, MANITOBA—
IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION AND CUSTOMS DUTY COL-
LECTED AT THAT PORT DURING SPECIFIED YEARS

	Exports	Imports	Customs Duty Collected
	$	$	$
Fiscal years ended March 31, 1921	741,031	2,242,234	266.149
1922	68,842	1,278,625	177,154
1923	20,586	1,058,620	117,531
1924	63,110	1,181,362	129,954
1925	44,103	930,850	119,020
1926	60,705	1,044,511	117,860
1927	45,502	1,306,813	151,673
1928	69,224	1,684,175	189,677
1929	26,308	2,489,530	249,661
1930	45,006	2,427,901	269,481
1931	18,294	1,432,246	162,976
1932	18,161	381,704	69,930
1933	6,144	267,850	52,384
1934	24,661	572,962	41,464
1935	114,325	642,495	49,237
1936	153,309	679,987	50,624
1937	97,443	446,321	59,863
1938	86,694	1,029,834	64,877
1939	37,334	1,194,951	80,076
Cal Years 1939	88,285	807,540	79,722
1940	165,666	979,527	71,523
1941	261,367	983,669	68,130
1942	272,585	969,383	67,339
1943	389,091	956,371	55,067
1944	334,163	1,305,035	61,835

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This the first or Pioneer Edition of "The Assiniboine Basin" has been made possible by the co-operation of the following firms doing business in the Assiniboine basin:

William J. Creelman, Brandon, founded September 1, 1898.
Yaeger's Furs Ltd., Brandon, founded 1918.
John A. McDonald & Son Ltd., Brandon, 1896.
Manitoba Motor Transit Ltd., Brandon, founded 1931.
Cassan Monumental Company, Brandon, founded 1933.
Alex M. Brown, Druggist, Brandon, established 1926.
Clement Drug Store Ltd., Brandon, established 1901.
Great West Coal Co. Ltd., Brandon.
Hambley Electric Hatcheries, Brandon, established August 1, 1939.
Weston Bread & Cake (Canada) Ltd., Brandon, established 1929.
D. G. McKenzie, 1887.
The Wheat City Tannery Ltd., Brandon, A. J. Crouch.
Patmore Nurseries Ltd., Brandon, 1883.
Patmore Florists, Brandon, 1934.
Christie School Supply Ltd., 1881, L. A. Cuff, Managing Director.
Winnipeg Paint and Glass, 1904.
Western Packing Company of Canada, 1882, H. V. Kobold, President.
Stratton Whitaker Limited, 1908.
Western Grocers Ltd., Winnipeg and branches, 1912.
Safeway Stores Ltd., 1929.
Federal Grain Ltd.
Peter C. Mitchell, Brandon, June, 1881.
Rumford Laundry Ltd., Brandon, R. B. Alexander, Manager.
Fedoruk's Groceteria, Brandon, 1916.
Shavers Furs, Brandon.
Kullberg Furniture, Brandon, 1932.
Macpherson & Bedford, Brandon, 1882.
Brandon Woollen Mills Co., Ltd., 1941, J. C. Maillard, President.
S. H. Brown Ltd., 1916, S. H. Brown, President.
D. Ackland & Son Ltd., 1889.
Nick's Tire Shop, N. Guyot, Brandon, 1945.
Brandon Musical Supply Co., 1935.
G. McLean Co., Ltd., Winnipeg, March 1, 1914.
Bird Construction Co., Ltd., H. J. Bird, March, 1920.
Portage la Prairie Mutual Insurance Co., October, 1884, A. H. Thorpe, Mgr.
The Wawanesa Mutual Insce Co., H. E. Hemmons, Manager, Sept. 1896.
Canada Packers Ltd., October, 1856.
Gillis & Warren Ltd., Winnipeg, 1921.
Macleod's Ltd., August, 1917.
Security Storage Co., Ltd., April, 1909.
The T. Eaton Co., Ltd., 1869.
Pioneer Grain Co., Ltd.
United Grain Growers Ltd., 1906.
The Canadian Consolidated Grain Co., Ltd.
The Searle Grain Co., Ltd.
Reliance Grain Co., Ltd.
Parrish and Heimbecker Ltd.
Manitoba Pool Elevators Ltd.
Monarch Lumber Co., Ltd.
Winnipeg Free Press Co. Ltd., Victor Sifton, Publisher.
Hallet Carey Co. Ltd.
Robertson Drug Store, Brandon, J. Robertson, Manager.